

BOOK II.

EUTERPE.

AFTER the death of Cyrus, Cambyzes succeeded to the kingdom: he was son of Cyrus, and Cassandane the daughter of Pharnaspes; who having died some time before, Cyrus both deeply mourned for her himself, and commanded all his subjects to mourn. Cambyzes then, being son of this lady and Cyrus, considered the Ionians and Æolians as his hereditary slaves; *when, therefore*, he made an expedition against Egypt, he took with him others of his subjects, and also some of the Greeks over whom he bore rule.

2. The Egyptians, before the reign of Psammitichus, considered themselves to be the most ancient of mankind. But after Psammitichus, having come to the throne, endeavoured to ascertain who were the most ancient, from that time they consider the Phrygians to have been before them, and themselves before all others. Now, when Psammitichus was unable, by inquiry, to discover any solution of this question, who were the most ancient of men, he devised the following expedient. He gave two new-born children of poor parents to a shepherd, to be brought up among his flocks in the following manner: he gave strict orders that no one should utter a word in their presence, that they should lie in a solitary room by themselves, and that he should bring goats to them at certain times, and that when he had satisfied them with milk he should attend to his other employments. Psammitichus contrived and ordered this, for the purpose of hearing what word the children would first articulate, after they had given over their insignificant mewlings; and such accordingly was the result. For when the shepherd had pursued this plan for the space of two years, one day as he opened the door and went in, both the children falling upon him, and holding

out their hands, cried "Becos." The shepherd, when he first heard it, said nothing; but when this same word was constantly repeated to him whenever he went and tended the children, he at length acquainted his master, and by his command brought the children into his presence. When Psammitichus heard the same, he inquired what people call any thing by the name of "Becos;" and on inquiry he discovered that the Phrygians call bread by that name. Thus the Egyptians, convinced by the above experiment, allowed that the Phrygians were more ancient than themselves. 3. This relation I had from the priests of Vulcan at Memphis. But the Greeks tell many other foolish things, and moreover that Psammitichus, having had the tongues of some women cut out, then had the children brought up by these women. Such is the account they gave of the nurture of the children. I heard other things also at Memphis in conversation with the priests of Vulcan. And on this very account I went also to Thebes, and to Heliopolis, in order to ascertain whether they would agree with the accounts given at Memphis; for the Heliopolitans are esteemed the most learned in history of all the Egyptians. The parts of the narration that I heard concerning divine things, I am not willing to relate, except only their names; and with these I suppose all men are equally well acquainted: but what more I shall relate of these matters, I shall relate from a necessity to keep up the thread of my story.

4. But as concerns human affairs, they agree with one another in the following account: that the Egyptians were the first to discover the year, which they divided into twelve parts; and they say that they made this discovery from the stars: and so far, I think, they act more wisely than the Grecians, in that the Grecians insert an intercalary month every third year, on account of the seasons; whereas the Egyptians, reckoning twelve months of thirty days each, add five days each year above that number, and so with them the circle of the seasons comes round to the same point. They say also, that the Egyptians were the first who introduced the names of the twelve gods, and that the Greeks borrowed those names from them; that they were the first to assign altars, images, and temples to the gods, and to carve the figures of animals on stone; and most of these things they proved were so in fact. They added, that Menes was the first mortal who reigned over

Egypt, and that in his time all Egypt, except the district of Thebes, was a morass, and that no part of the land that now exists below Lake Myris was then above water : to this place from the sea is a seven days' passage up the river. 5. And they seemed to me to give a good account of this region. For it is evident to a man of common understanding, who has not heard it before, but sees it, that the part of Egypt which the Greeks frequent with their shipping, is land acquired by the Egyptians, and a gift from the river ; and the parts above this lake, during a three days' passage, of which, however, they said nothing, are of the same description. For the nature of the soil of Egypt is of this kind ; when you are first sailing to it, and are at the distance of a day's sail from land, if you cast the lead you will bring up mud, and will find yourself in eleven fathoms water : this so far shows that there is an alluvial deposit.

6. The length of Egypt along the sea-coast is sixty schoeni, according as we reckon it to extend from the Plinthetic bay to Lake Serbonis, near which Mount Casius stretches : from this point then the length is sixty schoeni. Now, all men who are short of land measure their territory by fathoms ; but those who are less short of land, by stades ; and those who have much, by parasangs ; and such as have a very great extent, by schoeni. Now, a parasang is equal to thirty stades, and each schoenus, which is an Egyptian measure, is equal to sixty stades. So the whole coast of Egypt is three thousand six hundred stades in length. 7. From thence, as far as Heliopolis, inland, Egypt is wide, being all flat, without water, and a swamp. The distance to Heliopolis, as one goes up from the sea, is about equal in length to the road from Athens, *that is to say*, from the altar of the twelve gods, to Pisa and the temple of Olympian Jupiter. For whoever will compare these roads will find, by computation, that the difference between them is but little, not exceeding fifteen stades, for the road from Athens to Pisa is only fifteen stades short of one thousand five hundred stades ; but the road from the sea to Heliopolis amounts to just that number. 8. From Heliopolis upwards Egypt is narrow, for on one side the mountain of Arabia extends from north to south and south-west, stretching up continuously to that which is called the Red Sea. In this mountain are the stone quarries which were cut for the pyramids at Memphis ; here, then, the mountain, deviating, turns to the parts above

mentioned. But where its length is the greatest, I have heard that it is a two months' journey from east to west; and that eastward its confines produce frankincense. On that side of Egypt which borders upon Libya extends another rocky mountain, and covered with sand, on which the pyramids stand; and this stretches in the same direction as that part of the Arabian mountain that runs southward. So that from Heliopolis, the territory which belongs to Egypt is not very extensive; but for four days' sail up the river it is very narrow. Between the mountains before mentioned the land is level, and in the narrowest part appeared to me to be not more than two hundred stades in breadth, from the Arabian mountain to that called the Libyan; but above this Egypt again becomes wide. Such then is the character of this country. 9. From Heliopolis to Thebes is a voyage up of nine days; the length of this journey is in stades four thousand eight hundred and sixty, which amount to eighty-one schœni. Now, if we compute these stades together, the coast of Egypt, as I before explained, contains in length three thousand and six hundred stades: how far it is from the sea inland as far as Thebes, I will next show, namely, six thousand one hundred and twenty stades; and from Thebes to the city called Elephantine, one thousand eight hundred stades.

10. The greater part of all this country, as the priests informed me, and as appeared to me also to be the case, has been acquired by the Egyptians. For the space between the above-mentioned mountains, that are situate beyond the city of Memphis, seem to me to have been formerly a bay of the sea; as is the case also with the parts about Ilium, Teuthrania, Ephesus, and the plain of the Mæander, if I may be permitted to compare small things with great; for of the rivers that have thrown up the soil that forms these countries, not one can justly be brought into comparison, as to size, with any one of the five mouths of the Nile. But there are other rivers not equal in size to the Nile, which have wrought great works; of these I could mention the names, and amongst them one of the most remarkable is the Achelous, which, flowing through Acarnania, and falling into the sea, has already converted one-half of the Echinades islands into continent. 11. There is also in the Arabian territory, not far from Egypt, branching from the Red Sea, a bay of the sea, of the

length and width I shall here describe: the length of the voyage, beginning from the innermost part of this bay to the broad sea, occupies forty days for a vessel with oars; and the width, where the bay is widest, half a day's passage: and in it an ebb and flow takes place daily; and I am of opinion that Egypt was formerly a similar bay; this stretching from the Northern Sea towards Ethiopia; and the Arabian Bay, which I am describing, from the south towards Syria; and that they almost perforated their recesses so as to meet each other, overlapping* to some small extent. Now, if the Nile were to turn its stream into this Arabian gulf, what could hinder it from being filled with soil by the river within twenty thousand years? for my part, I think it would be filled within ten thousand. How then, in the time that has elapsed before I was born, might not even a much greater bay than this have been filled up by such a great and powerful river?

12. I therefore both give credit to those who relate these things concerning Egypt, and am myself persuaded of their truth, when I see that Egypt projects beyond the adjoining land; that shells are found on the mountains; that a saline humour forms on the surface so as even to corrode the pyramids; and that this mountain which is above Memphis is the only one in Egypt that abounds in sand: add to which, that Egypt, in its soil, is neither like Arabia or its confines, nor Libya, nor Syria, (Syrians occupy the sea-coast of Arabia,) but is black and crumbling, as if it were mud and alluvial deposit, brought down by the river from Ethiopia; whereas we know that the earth of Libya is reddish, and somewhat more sandy; and that of Arabia and Syria is more clayey and flinty.

13. The priests told me this also, as a great proof of what they related concerning this country, that in the reign of Mœris, when the river rose at least eight cubits, it irrigated all Egypt below Memphis; and yet Mœris had not been nine hundred years dead when I received this information. But now, unless the river rises sixteen cubits, or fifteen at least, it does not overflow the country. It appears to me, therefore, that if the soil continues to grow in height, in the same proportion, and to contribute in like manner towards its increase,

* I have adopted the meaning given to *παράλλασσοντας* by Liddell and Scott, instead of the usual interpretation, that "the two bays were but little distant from each other."

those Egyptians below Lake Mœris, who inhabit other districts and that which is called Delta, must, by reason of the Nile not overflowing their land, for ever suffer the same calamity which they used to say the Greeks would suffer from. For having heard that all the lands of Greece were watered by rain, and not by rivers, as their own was, they said "that the Grecians at some time or other would be disappointed in their great expectations, and suffer miserably from famine;" meaning, "that if the deity should not vouchsafe rain to them, but visit them with a long drought, the Greeks must perish by famine, since they had no other resource for water, except from Jupiter only." 14. And the Egyptians are right in saying this to the Greeks; but now let me state how the matter stands with the Egyptians themselves: if, as I said before, the land below Memphis (for this it is that increases) should continue to increase in height in the same proportion as it has in time past, what else will happen but that the Egyptians who inhabit this part will starve, if their land shall neither be watered by rain, nor the river be able to inundate the fields? Now indeed they gather in the fruits of the earth with less labour than any other people, and than the rest of the Egyptians, for they have not the toil of breaking up the furrows with the plough, nor of hoeing, nor of any other work which all other men must labour at to obtain a crop of corn; but when the river has come of its own accord and irrigated their fields, and having irrigated them has subsided, then each man sows his own land and turns swine into it; and when the seed has been trodden in by the swine, he afterwards waits for harvest-time: then having trod out the corn with his swine, he gathers it in.

15. But if we should adopt the opinion of the Ionians respecting Egypt, who say that the Delta alone is properly Egypt, stating that its sea-coast extends from what is called the tower of Perseus to the Tarichæa of Pelusium, forty schœni in length; and who say that from the sea inland it stretches to the city of Cercasorus, where the Nile divides, and flows towards Pelusium and Canopus; and who attribute the rest of Egypt, partly to Libya, and partly to Arabia,—if we adopted this account, we should show that the Egyptians had not formerly any country of their own; for the Delta, as the Egyptians themselves acknowledge, and as I think, is alluvial, and (if I may so express myself) has lately come to

light. If then they formerly had no country, how foolish they were to think themselves the most ancient of all people ! nor was there any use in their having recourse to the experiment of the children, to ascertain what language they would first speak. For my own part, I am not of opinion that the Egyptians commenced their existence with the country which the Ionians call Delta ; but that they always were, since men have been ; and that as the soil gradually increased, many of them remained in their former habitations, and many came lower down. For, anciently, Thebes was called Egypt, and is six thousand one hundred and twenty stades in circumference. 16. If, therefore, I judge correctly of these things, the Ionians are mistaken with respect to Egypt ; but if their opinion is correct, then I will show that neither the Greeks nor the Ionians themselves know how to reckon, when they say, that the whole earth consists of three divisions, Europe, Asia, and Libya ; for they ought to add a fourth, the Delta of Egypt, if it be not a part either of Asia or of Libya. For, by this account, the Nile does not separate Asia from Libya, but is divided at the point of Delta, so that it must be between Asia and Libya. But I will dismiss the opinion of the Ionians, and proceed to give my own account of the matter. 17. *I consider* that the whole country inhabited by Egyptians is Egypt, as that inhabited by Cilicians is Cilicia, and that by Assyrians, Assyria. And, strictly speaking, I know of no other boundary to Asia and Libya, except the frontier of Egypt. But if we follow the opinion received by the Greeks, we shall suppose that all Egypt, beginning from the cataracts and the city of Elephantine, is divided into two parts, and partakes of both names ; and that one part belongs to Libya, and the other to Asia. For the Nile, beginning from the cataracts, flows to the sea, dividing Egypt in the middle. Now, as far as the city of Cercasorus, the Nile flows in one stream ; but from that point it is divided into three channels : and that which runs eastward is called the Pelusiatic mouth ; another of the channels bends westward, and is called the Canopic mouth ; but the direct channel of the Nile is the following : descending from above, it comes to the point of the Delta, and after this it divides the Delta in the middle, and discharges itself into the sea, supplying by this channel, not by any means the least quantity of water, nor that the least re-

nowned ; this is called the Sebennytic mouth. There are also two other mouths, that diverge from the Sebennytic and flow into the sea ; to these the following names are given, to one the Saitic, to the other the Mendesian mouth. The Bolbitine and Bucolic mouths are not natural, but artificial. 18. My opinion that Egypt is of the extent I have above declared it to be, is confirmed by an oracle delivered at Ammon, which I heard after I had formed my own opinion respecting Egypt. For the people who inhabit the cities of Marea and Apis, in the part of Egypt bordering on Libya, deeming themselves Libyans and not Egyptians, and being discontented with the institutions regarding victims, were desirous not to be restricted from the use of cow's flesh, and therefore sent to Ammon, saying, "that they had no relation to the Egyptians, because they lived out of Delta, and did not speak the same language with them ; and desired to be allowed to eat all manner of food." The god, however, did not permit them to do so, saying, "that all the country which the Nile irrigated was Egypt, and that all those were Egyptians who dwell below the city Elephantine, and drink of that river. Such was the answer given them. 19. But the Nile, when full, inundates not only Delta, but also part of the country said to belong to Libya and Arabia, to the extent of about two days' journey on either side, more or less.

Respecting the nature of this river, I was unable to gain any information, either from the priests or any one else. I was very desirous, however, of learning from them why the Nile, beginning at the summer solstice, fills and overflows for a hundred days ; and when it has nearly completed this number of days, falls short in its stream, and retires ; so that it continues low all the winter, until the return of the summer solstice. Of these particulars I could get no information from the Egyptians, though I inquired whether this river have any peculiar quality that makes it differ in nature from other rivers. Being anxious, then, of knowing what was said about this matter, I made inquiries, and also how it comes to pass, that this is the only one of all rivers that does not send forth breezes from its surface. 20. Nevertheless, some of the Greeks, wishing to be distinguished for their wisdom, have attempted to account for these inundations in three different ways : two of these ways are scarcely worth mentioning, ex-

cept that I wish to show what they are. One of them says that the Etesian winds are the cause of the swelling of the river, by preventing the Nile from discharging itself into the sea. But frequently the Etesian winds have not blown, yet the Nile produces the same effects; besides, if the Etesian winds were the cause, all other rivers that flow opposite to the same winds, must of necessity be equally affected and in the same manner as the Nile; and even so much the more, as they are less and have weaker currents: yet there are many rivers in Syria, and many in Libya, which are not all affected as the Nile is. 21. The second opinion shows still more ignorance than the former, but, if I may so say, is more marvellous. It says that the Nile, flowing from the ocean, produces this effect; and that the ocean flows all round the earth. 22. The third way of resolving this difficulty is by far the most specious, but most untrue. For by saying that the Nile flows from melted snow, it says nothing, for this river flows from Libya through the middle of Ethiopia and discharges itself into Egypt; how therefore, since it runs from a very hot to a colder region, can it flow from snow? Many reasons will readily occur to men of good understanding, to show the improbability of its flowing from snow. The first and chief proof is derived from the winds, which blow hot from those regions: the second is, that the country, destitute of rain, is always free from ice; but after snow has fallen, it must of necessity rain within five days; so that if snow fell, it would also rain in these regions. In the third place, the inhabitants become black from the excessive heat; kites and swallows continue there all the year; and the cranes, to avoid the cold of Scythia, migrate to these parts as winter quarters: if then ever so little snow fell in this country through which the Nile flows, and from which it derives its source, none of these things would happen, as necessity proves. 23. But the person who speaks about the ocean, since he has referred his account to some obscure fable, produces no conviction at all; for I do not know any river called the Ocean; but suppose that Homer, or some other ancient poet, having invented the name, introduced it into poetry.

24. Yet if, after I have found fault with the opinions advanced *by others*, it becomes me to declare my own concerning so obscure a question, I will describe what, in my opinion,

causes the Nile to overflow in summer. During the winter season, the sun, being driven by storms from his former course, retires to the upper parts of Libya: this in few words comprehends the whole matter; for it is natural that that country which this god is nearest to, and over which he is, should be most in want of water, and that the native river streams should be dried up. 25. But to explain my meaning more at length, the case is this: the sun passing over the upper parts of Libya, produces the following effect; as the air in these regions is always serene, and the soil always hot, since there are no cold winds passing over, he produces just the same effect, as he usually does in the summer, when passing through the middle of the firmament; for he attracts the water to himself, and having so attracted it, throws it back upon the higher regions; there the winds, taking it up and dispersing it, melt it: and therefore, with good reason, the winds that blow from this country, from the south and south-west, are by far the most rainy of all. I do not think, however, that the sun on each occasion discharges the annual supply of water from the Nile, but that some remains about him. When, however, the winter grows mild, the sun returns again to the middle of the heavens, and from that time attracts water equally from all rivers. Up to this time those other rivers, having much rain-water mixed with them, flow with full streams: but as the country has been watered by showers and torn up by torrents, when the showers fail them, and they are attracted in summer by the sun, they become weak, but the Nile, being destitute of rain, and attracted by the sun, is the only river that with good reason flows much weaker, than usual at this time, than in summer; for in summer it is attracted equally with all other waters, but in winter it alone is hard pressed. Thus I consider that the sun is the cause of these things. 26. The same cause in my opinion occasions also the dryness of the air in these parts, the sun scorching every thing in his passage: in consequence of this, heat always prevails in the upper parts of Libya. But if the order of the seasons were changed, and that part of the heaven where the north and winter are now placed could be made the position of the south and mid-day, and the north were transferred to the south, if such a change were made, the sun, driven from the middle of the firmament by the winter and the north wind, would go to the upper parts of Europe, as he now does through those of Libya;

and I suppose he would produce in his passage the same effects on the Ister, which he now does on the Nile. 27. Then with regard to the reason why no breezes blow from the Nile; my opinion is, that it is very improbable they should blow from hot countries, for they generally blow from some cold one.

28. But I leave these things as they are, and as they were at the beginning. With respect to the sources of the Nile, no man of all the Egyptians, Libyans, or Grecians with whom I have conversed, ever pretended to know any thing; except the registrar of Minerva's treasury at Sais in Egypt. He indeed seemed to be trifling with me, when he said he knew perfectly well; yet his account was as follows: "That there are two mountains rising into a sharp peak, situated between the city of Syene in Thebais and Elephantine; the names of these mountains are, the one Crophî, the other Mophî; that the sources of the Nile, which are bottomless, flow from between these mountains; and that half of the water flows over Egypt, and to the north, the other half over Ethiopia and the south. That the fountains of the Nile are bottomless, he said, Psammitichus king of Egypt proved by experiment; for having caused a line to be twisted many thousand fathoms in length, he let it down, but could not find a bottom." Such then was the opinion the registrar gave, if indeed he spoke the real truth; *proving*, in my opinion, that there are strong whirlpools and an eddy here; so that the water beating against the rocks, a sounding line, when let down, cannot reach the bottom. 29. I was unable to learn any thing more from any one else. But thus much I learnt by carrying my researches as far as possible, having gone and made my own observations as far as Elephantine, and beyond that obtaining information from hearsay. As one ascends the river, above the city of Elephantine, the country is steep; here therefore it is necessary to attach a rope on both sides of a boat as one does with an ox in a plough, and so proceed; but if the rope should happen to break, the boat is carried away by the force of the stream. This kind of country lasts for a four days' passage, and the Nile here winds as much as the Mæander. There are twelve schœni, which it is necessary to sail through in this manner; and after that you will come to a level plain, where the Nile flows round an island; its name is Tachompso. Ethiopians inhabit the country immediately above Elephantine, and one half of the island; the other half

is inhabited by Egyptians. Near to this island lies a vast lake, on the borders of which Ethiopian nomades dwell ; after sailing through this lake, you will come to the channel of the Nile, which flows into it : then you will have to land and travel forty days by the side of the river, for sharp rocks rise in the Nile, and there are many sunken ones, through which it is not possible to navigate a boat : having passed this country in the forty days, you must go on board another boat, and sail for twelve days ; and then you will arrive at a large city, called Meroe : this city is said to be the capital of all Ethiopia. The inhabitants worship no other gods than Jupiter and Bacchus ; but these they honour with great magnificence ; they have also an oracle of Jupiter ; and they make war, whenever that god bids them by an oracular warning, and against whatever country he bids them. 30. Sailing from this city, you will arrive at the country of the Automoli, in a space of time equal to that which you took in coming from Elephantine to the capital of the Ethiopians. These Automoli are called by the name of Asmak, which in the language of Greece signifies, "those that stand at the left hand of the king." These, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand of the Egyptian war-tribe, revolted to the Ethiopians on the following occasion. In the reign of king Psammitichus garrisons were stationed at Elephantine against the Ethiopians, and another at the Pelusian Daphnæ against the Arabians and Syrians, and another at Marea against Libya ; and even in my time garrisons of the Persians are stationed in the same places as they were in the time of Psammitichus, for they maintain guards at Elephantine and Daphnæ. Now these Egyptians, after they had been on duty three years, were not relieved ; therefore having consulted together, and come to an unanimous resolution, they all revolted from Psammitichus, and went to Ethiopia. Psammitichus, hearing of this, pursued them : and when he overtook them, he entreated them, by many arguments, and adjured them not to forsake the gods of their fathers, and their children and wives. But one of them is reported to have uncovered his private parts, and to have said, "that wheresoever these were, there they should find both children and wives." These men, when they arrived in Ethiopia, offered their services to the king of the Ethiopians, who made them the following recompence. There were

certain Ethiopians disaffected towards him ; these he bade them expel, and take possession of their land : by the settlement of these men among the Ethiopians, the Ethiopians became more civilized, and learned the manners of the Egyptians.

31. Now for a voyage and land journey of four months, the Nile is known, in addition to the part of the stream that is in Egypt. For upon computation, so many months are known to be spent by a person who travels from Elephantine to the Automoli. This river flows from the west and the setting of the sun ; but beyond this no one is able to speak with certainty, for the rest of the country is desert by reason of the excessive heat. 32. But I have heard the following account from certain Cyrenæans, who say that they went to the oracle of Ammon, and had a conversation with Etearchus king of the Ammonians ; and that, among other subjects, they happened to discourse about the Nile,—that nobody knew its sources : whereupon Etearchus said, that certain Nasamonians once came to him ; this nation is Lybian and inhabits the Syrtis ; and the country for no great distance eastward of the Syrtis ; and that when these Nasamonians arrived, and were asked if they could give any further information touching the deserts of Libya, they answered, that there were some daring youths amongst them, sons of powerful men ; and that they, having reached man's estate, formed many other extravagant plans, and moreover chose five of their number by lot to explore the deserts of Libya, to see if they could make any further discovery than those who had penetrated the farthest. (For as respects the parts of Libya along the Northern Sea, beginning from Egypt to the promontory of Solois, where is the extremity of Libya, Libyans and various nations of Libyans reach all along it, except those parts which are occupied by Grecians and Phœnicians : but as respects the parts above the sea, and those nations which reach down to the sea, in the upper parts Libya is infested by wild beasts ; and all beyond that is sand, dreadfully short of water, and utterly desolate.) *They further related*, "that when the young men deputed by their companions set out, well furnished with water and provisions, they passed first through the inhabited country ; and having traversed this, they came to the region infested by wild beasts ; and after this they crossed the desert, making their way towards the west ; and when they had traversed much sandy

ground, during a journey of many days, they at length saw some trees growing in a plain ; and that they approached and began to gather the fruit that grew on the trees ; and while they were gathering, some diminutive men, less than men of middle stature, came up, and having seized them carried them away ; and that the Nasamonians did not at all understand their language, nor those who carried them off the language of the Nasamonians. However, they conducted them through vast morasses, and when they had passed these, they came to a city, in which all the inhabitants were of the same size as their conductors, and black in colour : and by the city flowed a great river, running from the west to the east, and that crocodiles were seen in it." 33. Thus far I have set forth the account of Etearchus the Ammonian ; to which may be added, as the Cyrenæans assured me, "that he said the Nasamonians all returned safe to their own country, and that the men whom they came to were all necromancers." Etearchus also conjectured that this river, which flows by their city, is the Nile ; and reason so evinces : for the Nile flows from Libya, and intersects it in the middle ; and (as I conjecture, inferring things unknown from things known) it sets out from a point corresponding with the Ister. For the Ister, beginning from the Celts, and the city of Pyrene, divides Europe in its course : but the Celts are beyond the pillars of Hercules, and border on the territories of the Cynesians, who lie in the extremity of Europe to the westward ; and the Ister terminates by flowing through all Europe into the Euxine Sea, where a Milesian colony is settled in Istria. 34. Now the Ister, as it flows through a well-peopled country, is generally known ; but no one is able to speak about the sources of the Nile, because Libya, through which it flows, is uninhabited and desolate. Respecting this stream, therefore, as far as I was able to reach by inquiry, I have already spoken. It however discharges itself into Egypt ; and Egypt lies, as near as may be, opposite to the mountains of Cilicia ; from whence to Sinope, on the Euxine Sea, is a five days' journey in a straight line to an active man ; and Sinope is opposite to the Ister, where it discharges itself into the sea. So I think that the Nile, traversing the whole of Libya, may be properly compared with the Ister. Such, then, is the account that I am able to give respecting the Nile.

35. I now proceed to give a more particular account of Egypt; it possesses more wonders than any other country, and exhibits works greater than can be described, in comparison with all other regions; therefore more must be said about it. The Egyptians, besides having a climate peculiar to themselves, and a river differing in its nature from all other rivers, have adopted customs and usages in almost every respect different from the rest of mankind. Amongst them the women attend markets and traffic, but the men stay at home and weave. Other nations, in weaving, throw the wool upwards; the Egyptians, downwards. The men carry burdens on their heads; the women, on their shoulders. The women stand up when they make water, but the men sit down. They ease themselves in their houses, but eat out of doors; alleging that, whatever is indecent, though necessary, ought to be done in private; but what is not indecent, openly. No woman can serve the office for any god or goddess; but men are employed for both offices. Sons are not compelled to support their parents unless they choose, but daughters are compelled to do so, whether they choose or not. 36. In other countries the priests of the gods wear long hair; in Egypt they have it shaved. With other men it is customary in mourning for the nearest relations to have their heads shorn; the Egyptians, on occasions of death, let the hair grow both on the head and face, though till then used to shave. Other men live apart from beasts; but the Egyptians live with them. Others feed on wheat and barley, but it is a very great disgrace for an Egyptian to make food of them; but they make bread from spelt, which some call *zea*. They knead the dough with their feet; but mix clay and take up dung with their hands. Other men leave their private parts as they are formed by nature, except those who have learnt otherwise from them; but the Egyptians are circumcised. Every man wears two garments; the women, but one. Other men fasten the rings and sheets of their sails outside; but the Egyptians, inside. The Grecians write and cipher, moving the hand from left to right; but the Egyptians, from right to left: and doing so, they say they do it right-ways, and the Greeks left-ways. They have two sorts of letters, one of which is called sacred, the other common.

37. They are of all men the most excessively attentive to

the worship of the gods, and observe the following ceremonies. They drink from cups of brass, which they scour every day; nor is this custom practised by some and neglected by others, but all do it. They wear linen garments, constantly fresh washed, and they pay particular attention to this. They are circumcised for the sake of cleanliness, thinking it better to be clean than handsome. The priests shave their whole body every third day, that neither lice nor any other impurity may be found upon them when engaged in the service of the gods. The priests wear linen only, and shoes of byblus, and are not permitted to wear any other garments, or other shoes. They wash themselves in cold water twice every day, and twice every night; and, in a word, they use a number of ceremonies. On the other hand, they enjoy no slight advantages, for they do not consume or expend any of their private property; but sacred food is cooked for them, and a great quantity of beef and geese is allowed each of them every day, and wine from the grape is given them; but they may not taste of fish. Beans the Egyptians do not sow at all in their country, neither do they eat those that happen to grow there, nor taste them when dressed. The priests, indeed, abhor the sight of that pulse, accounting it impure. The service of each god is performed, not by one, but by many priests, of whom one is chief priest; and, when any one of them dies, his son is put in his place. 38. The male kine they deem sacred to Epaphus, and to that end prove them in the following manner. If the examiner finds one black hair upon him, he adjudges him to be unclean; and one of the priests appointed for this purpose makes this examination, both when the animal is standing up and lying down; and he draws out the tongue, to see if it is pure as to the prescribed marks, which I shall mention in another part of my history. He also looks at the hairs of his tail, whether they grow naturally. If the beast is found pure in all these respects, he marks it by rolling a piece of byblus round the horns, and then having put on it some sealing earth, he impresses it with his signet; and so they drive him away. Any one who sacrifices one that is unmarked, is punished with death. In this manner the animal is proved. 39. The established mode of sacrifice is this: having led the victim, properly marked, to the altar where they intend to sacrifice, they kindle a fire. Then having poured

wine upon the altar, near the victim, and having invoked the god, they kill it ; and after they have killed it, they cut off the head ; but they flay the body of the animal : then having pronounced many imprecations on the head, they who have a market and Grecian merchants dwelling amongst them, carry it there, and having so done, they usually sell it ; but they who have no Grecians amongst them, throw it into the river : and they pronounce the following imprecations on the head : “ If any evil is about to befall either those that now sacrifice, or Egypt in general, may it be averted on this head.” With respect, then, to the heads of beasts that are sacrificed, and to the making libations of wine, all the Egyptians observe the same customs in all sacrifices alike : and from this custom no Egyptian will taste of the head of any animal.

40. But a different mode of disembowelling and burning the victims prevails in different sacrifices. I proceed therefore to speak of the practice with regard to the goddess whom they consider the greatest, and in whose honour they celebrate the most magnificent festival. When they have flayed the bullocks, having first offered up prayers, they take out all the intestines, and leave the vitals with the fat in the carcass : and they then cut off the legs and the extremity of the hip, with the shoulders and neck, and having done this, they fill the body of the bullock with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other perfumes ; and after they have filled it with these, they burn it, pouring on it a great quantity of oil. They sacrifice after they have fasted ; and while the sacred things are being burnt, they all beat themselves ; and when they have done beating themselves, they spread a banquet of what remains of the victims.

41. All the Egyptians therefore sacrifice the pure male kine and calves, but they are not allowed to sacrifice the females, for they are sacred to Isis ; for the image of Isis is made in the form of a woman with the horns of a cow, as the Grecians represent Io ; and all Egyptians alike pay a far greater reverence to cows than to any other cattle. So that no Egyptian man or woman will kiss a Grecian on the mouth ; or use the knife, spit, or caldron of a Greek, or taste of the flesh of a pure ox that has been divided by a Grecian knife. They bury the kine that die in the following manner ; the females they throw into the river, and the males they sever-

ally inter in the suburbs, with one horn, or both, appearing above the ground, for a mark. When it is putrified and the appointed time arrives, a raft comes to each city from the island called Prosopitis; this island is in the Delta, and is nine schœni in circumference: now in this island Prosopitis there are several cities; but that from which the rafts come to take away the bones of the oxen, is called Atarbechis; in it a temple of Venus has been erected. From this city then many persons go about to other towns; and having dug up the bones, all carry them away, and bury them in one place; and they bury all other cattle that die in the same way that they do the oxen; for they do not kill any of them. 42. All those who have a temple erected to Theban Jupiter, or belong to the Theban district, abstain from sheep, and sacrifice goats only. For the Egyptians do not all worship the same gods in the same manner, except Isis and Osiris, who, they say, is Bacchus; but these deities they all worship in the same manner. On the other hand, those who frequent the temple of Mendes, and belong to the Mendesian district, abstain from goats, and sacrifice sheep. Now the Thebans, and such as abstain from sheep after their example, say, that this custom was established among them in the following way: that Hercules was very desirous of seeing Jupiter, but Jupiter was unwilling to be seen by him; at last, however, as Hercules persisted, Jupiter had recourse to the following contrivance: having flayed a ram, he cut off the head, and held it before himself, and then having put on the fleece, he in that form showed himself to Hercules." From this circumstance the Egyptians make the image of Jupiter with a ram's face; and from the Egyptians the Ammonians, who are a colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, and who speak a language between both, *have adopted the same practice*; and, as I conjecture, the Ammonians from hence derived their name, for the Egyptians call Jupiter, Ammon. The Thebans then do not sacrifice rams, but they are for the above reason accounted sacred by them; on one day in the year, however, at the festival of Jupiter, they kill and flay one ram, and put it on the image of Jupiter, and then they bring another image of Hercules to it; when they have done this, all who are in the temple beat themselves in mourning for the ram, and then bury him in a sacred vault.

43. Of this Hercules I have heard this account, that he is one of the twelve gods ; but of the other Hercules, who is known to the Grecians, I could never hear in any part of Egypt. And that the Egyptians did not derive the name of Hercules from the Grecians, but rather the Grecians (and especially those who gave the name of Hercules to the son of Amphitryon) from the Egyptians, I have both many other proofs to show, and moreover the following, that the parents of this Hercules, Amphitryon and Alcmene, were both of Egyptian descent, and because the Egyptians say they do not know the names of Neptune and the Dioscuri, and that they have never been admitted into the number of their gods ; yet if they had derived the name of any deity from the Grecians, they would certainly have mentioned these above all others, since even at that time they made voyages, and some of the Grecians were sailors, so that I believe, and am persuaded, that the Egyptians must have learnt the names of these gods, rather than that of Hercules. But Hercules is one of the ancient gods of the Egyptians ; and as they say themselves, it was seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis, when the number of their gods was increased from eight to twelve, of whom Hercules was accounted one. 44. And being desirous of obtaining certain information from whatever source I could, I sailed to Tyre in Phœnicia, having heard that there was there a temple dedicated to Hercules ; and I saw it richly adorned with a great variety of offerings, and in it were two pillars, one of fine gold, the other of emerald stone, both shining exceedingly* at night. Conversing with the priests of this god, I inquired how long this temple had been built, and I found that neither did they agree with the Greeks. For they said that the temple was built at the time when Tyre was founded, and that two thousand three hundred years had elapsed since the foundation of Tyre. In this city I also saw another temple dedicated to Hercules by the name of Thasian ; I went therefore to Thasos, and found there a temple of Hercules built by the Phœnicians, who, having set sail in search of Europa, founded Thasos ; and this occurred five generations before Hercules the son of Amphitryon appeared in Greece. The researches then that I have made evidently prove, that

* *Μέγας* must be here construed as an adverb : but Baehr thinks that the text is corrupt.

Hercules is a god of great antiquity, and therefore those Grecians appear to me to have acted most correctly, who have built two kinds of temples sacred to Hercules, and who sacrificed to one as an immortal, under the name of Olympian, and paid honour to the other as a hero. 45. But the Grecians say many other things *on this subject* inconsiderately; for instance, this is a silly story of theirs which they tell of Hercules: that, “when he arrived in Egypt, the Egyptians, having crowned him with a garland, led him in procession, as designing to sacrifice him to Jupiter, and that for some time he remained quiet, but when they began the preparatory ceremonies upon him at the altar, he set about defending himself and slew every one of them.” Now the Greeks who tell this story appear to me to be utterly ignorant of the character and customs of the Egyptians. For how can they who are forbidden to sacrifice any kind of animal, except swine, and such bulls and calves as are without blemish, and geese, sacrifice human beings? Moreover, since Hercules was but one, and besides a mere man, as they confess, how is it probable that he should slay many thousands? And in thus speaking of them may I meet with indulgence both from gods and heroes.

46. The reason why the Egyptians above mentioned do not sacrifice the goat, either male or female, is as follows: the Mendesians consider Pan one of the eight gods, and they say, that these eight existed prior to the twelve gods. And indeed their painters and sculptors represent Pan with the face and legs of a goat, as the Grecians do: not that they imagine this to be his real form, for they think him like other gods; but why they represent him in this way I had rather not mention. However, the Mendesians pay reverence to all goats, and more to the males than to the females, (and the goatherds who tend them receive greater honour,) and particularly one he-goat, on whose death public mourning is observed throughout the whole Mendesian district. In the language of Egypt, both a goat and Pan are called Mendes; and in my time the following prodigy occurred in this district: a goat had connexion with a woman in open day: this came to the knowledge of all men. 47. The Egyptians consider the pig to be an impure beast, and therefore if a man in passing by a pig should touch him only with his garments, he forthwith goes to the river and plunges in: and in the next place, swineherds, although

native Egyptians, are the only men who are not allowed to enter any of their temples ; neither will any man give his daughter in marriage to one of them, nor take a wife from among them ; but the swineherds intermarry among themselves. The Egyptians therefore do not think it right to sacrifice swine to any other deities ; but to the moon and Bacchus they do sacrifice them, at the same time, that is, at the same full moon, and then they eat of the flesh. A tradition is related by the Egyptians in relation to this matter, giving an account why they abhor swine on all other festivals, and sacrifice them in that ; but it is more becoming for me, though I know it, not to mention it. This sacrifice of pigs to the moon is performed in the following manner : when the sacrificer has slain the victim, he puts together the tip of the tail, with the spleen and the caul, and then covers them with the fat found about the belly of the animal ; and next he consumes them with fire : the rest of the flesh they eat during the full moon in which they offer the sacrifices ; but in no other day would any one even taste it. The poor amongst them, through want of means, form pigs of dough, and having baked them, offer them in sacrifice. 48. On the eve of the festival of Bacchus, every one slays a pig before his door, and then restores it to the swineherd that sold it, that he may carry it away. The rest of this festival to Bacchus, except as regards the pigs, the Egyptians celebrate much in the same manner as the Greeks do, but only, instead of phalli, they have invented certain images, as much as a cubit in height, moved by strings, which women carry about the villages, and which have the member nodding, in size not much less than the rest of the body ; a pipe leads the way, and the women follow, singing the praises of Bacchus. But why it has the member so large, and moves no other part of the body, is accounted for by a sacred story. 49. Now Melampus, son of Amytheon, appears to me not to have been ignorant of this sacrifice, but perfectly well acquainted with it ; for Melampus is the person who first introduced among the Greeks the name and sacrifices of Bacchus, and the procession of the phallus ; he did not, however, fully explain every particular, but other learned persons who lived after him revealed them more accurately. Melampus, then, is the person who introduced the procession of the phallus in honour of Bacchus, and from him the Greeks

having learnt it, do as they do. For my part I think that Melampus, being a wise man, both acquired the art of divination, and having learnt many other things in Egypt, introduced them among the Greeks, and particularly the worship of Bacchus, changing only some few particulars; for I cannot admit that the ceremonies adopted in Egypt in honour of this god, and those among the Greeks, coincide by chance; in that case they would be conformable to Grecian customs, and not have been lately introduced; neither can I admit that the Egyptians borrowed either this or any other usage from the Greeks. But I am of opinion that Melampus obtained his information respecting the ceremonies of Bacchus, chiefly from Cadmus the Tyrian, and those who accompanied him from Phœnicia to the country now called Bœotia.

50. And indeed the names of almost all the gods came from Egypt into Greece; for that they came from barbarians I find on inquiry to be the case; and I think they chiefly proceeded from Egypt. For with the exception of Neptune and the Dioscouri, as I before mentioned, and Juno, Vesta, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids, the names of all the others have always existed among the Egyptians: in this I repeat what the Egyptians themselves affirm; but the gods whose names they say they are not acquainted with, I think, derived their names from the Pelasgians, with the exception of Neptune; this god they learned from the Libyans, for no people, except the Libyans, originally possessed the name of Neptune, and they have always worshipped him. Moreover the Egyptians pay no religious honour to heroes. 51. These, and other customs besides, which I shall hereafter mention, the Grecians received from the Egyptians. The practice of making the images of Mercury with the member erect, they did not learn from the Egyptians, but from the Pelasgians: the Athenians were the first of all the Greeks who adopted this practice, and others from them; for the Pelasgians dwelt in the same country as the Athenians, who were already ranked among Greeks, whence they also began to be reckoned as Grecians. Whoever is initiated in the mysteries of the Cabiri, which the Samothracians have adopted from the Pelasgians, knows what I mean. For these Pelasgians dwelt in the same country as the Athenians formerly inhabited, Samothrace, and from them the Samothracians learnt the mysteries:

the Athenians therefore were the first of the Grecians who, having learnt the practice from the Pelasgians, made the images of Mercury with the member erect ; but the Pelasgians assign a certain sacred reason for this, which is explained in the mysteries of Samothrace. 52. Formerly the Pelasgians sacrificed all sorts of victims to the gods with prayer, as I was informed at Dodona, but they gave no surname or name to any of them, for they had not yet heard of them ; but they called them gods, because they had set in order and ruled over all things. Then, in course of time, they learnt the names of the other gods that were brought from Egypt, and after some time, that of Bacchus. Concerning the names they consulted the oracle of Dodona, for this oracle is accounted the most ancient of those that are in Greece, and was then the only one. When therefore the Pelasgians inquired at Dodona “whether they should receive the names that came from barbarians,” the oracle answered, “that they should.” From that time therefore they adopted the names of the gods in their sacrifices, and the Grecians afterwards received them from the Pelasgians. 53. Whence each of the gods sprung, whether they existed always, and of what form they were, was, so to speak, unknown till yesterday. For I am of opinion that Hesiod and Homer lived four hundred years before my time, and not more, and these were they who framed a theogony for the Greeks, and gave names to the gods, and assigned to them honours and arts, and declared their several forms. But the poets, said to have been before them, in my opinion, were after them. The first part of the above statement is derived from the Dodonæan priestesses ; but the latter, that relates to Hesiod and Homer, I say on my own authority.

54. Concerning the two oracles, one in Greece, the other in Libya, the Egyptians give the following account. The priests of the Theban Jupiter say, “that two women, employed in the temple, were carried away from Thebes by certain Phœnicians, and that one of them was discovered to have been sold into Libya, the other to the Greeks ; and that these two women were the first who established oracles in the nations above mentioned.” When I inquired how they knew this for a certainty, they answered, “that they made diligent search for these women, and were never able to find them ; but had afterwards heard the account they gave of them.” 55. This,

then is the account I heard from the priests at Thebes ; but the prophetesses at Dodona say, “that two black pigeons flew away from Thebes in Egypt ; that one of them went to Libya, and the other to them ; that this last, sitting perched on an oak tree, proclaimed in a human voice, that it was fitting an oracle should be erected there to Jupiter ; and that the people believed this to be a divine message to them, and did accordingly. They add, that the other pigeon, which flew into Libya, commanded the Libyans to found the oracle of Ammon ;” this also belongs to Jupiter. The priestesses of Dodona, of whom the eldest is named Promenia, the second Timarete, and the youngest Nicandra, gave this account ; and the rest of the Dodonæans, engaged in the service of the temple, agreed with them. 56. My opinion of these things is this : if the Phœnicians did really carry off the women employed in the temple, and sold the one of them into Libya and the other into Greece, this last woman, as I think, was sold to some Thesprotians, in that part which is now called Hellas, but was formerly called Pelasgia : then, being reduced to slavery, she erected a temple to Jupiter, under an oak that grew there ; nothing being more natural, than that she, who had been an attendant in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, should retain the memory of it wherever she came. And after this, when she had learned the Greek language, she instituted an oracle ; and she said that her sister in Libya had been sold by the same Phœnicians by whom she herself was sold. 57. The women, I conjecture, were called doves by the Dodonæans, because they were barbarians, and they seemed to them to chatter like birds ; but after a time, when the woman spoke intelligibly to them, they presently reported that the dove had spoken with a human voice ; for as long as she used a barbarous language, she appeared to them to chatter like a bird : for how could a dove speak with a human voice ? But in saying that the dove was black, they show that the woman was an Egyptian. The manner in which oracles are delivered at Thebes in Egypt, and at Dodona, is very similar ; and the art of divination from victims came likewise from Egypt.

58. The Egyptians were also the first who introduced public festivals, processions, and solemn supplications ; and the Greeks learnt them from them : for these rites appear to have been established for a very long time, but those in Greece

have been lately introduced. 59. The Egyptians hold public festivals not only once in a year, but several times : that which is best and most rigidly observed, is in the city of Bubastis, in honour of Diana ; the second, in the city of Busiris, is in honour of Isis ; for in this city is the largest temple of Isis, and it is situated in the middle of the Egyptian Delta. Isis is in the Grecian language called Demeter. The third festival is held at Sais, in honour of Minerva ; the fourth, at Heliopolis, in honour of the sun ; the fifth, at the city of Buto, in honour of Latona ; the sixth, at the city of Papremis, in honour of Mars. 60. Now, when they are being conveyed to the city Bubastis, they act as follows : for men and women embark together, and great numbers of both sexes in every barge : some of the women have castanets on which they play, and the men play on the flute during the whole voyage ; the rest of the women and men sing and clap their hands together at the same time. When in the course of their passage they come to any town, they lay their barge near to land, and do as follows : some of the women do as I have described ; others shout and scoff at the women of the place ; some dance, and others stand up and pull up their clothes : this they do at every town by the river-side. When they arrive at Bubastis, they celebrate the feast, offering up great sacrifices ; and more wine is consumed at this festival than in all the rest of the year. What with men and women, besides children, they congregate, as the inhabitants say, to the number of seven hundred thousand. 61. I have already related how they celebrate the festival of Isis in the city of Busiris ; and besides, all the men and women, to the number of many myriads, beat themselves after the sacrifice ; but for whom they beat themselves it were impious for me to divulge. All the Carians that are settled in Egypt do still more than this, in that they cut their foreheads with knives, and thus show themselves to be foreigners and not Egyptians. 62. When they are assembled at the sacrifice, in the city of Sais, they all on a certain night kindle a great number of lamps in the open air, around their houses ; the lamps are flat vessels filled with salt and oil, and the wick floats on the surface, and this burns all night ; and the festival is thence named “the lighting of lamps.” The Egyptians who do not come to this public assembly observe the rite of sacrifice, and all kindle lamps, and this not only in Sais, but throughout

all Egypt. A religious reason is given why this night is illuminated and so honoured. 63. Those who assemble at Heliopolis and Buto perform sacrifices only. But in Papremis they offer sacrifices and perform ceremonies, as in other places ; but, when the sun is on the decline, a few priests are occupied about the image, but the greater number stand, with wooden clubs, at the entrance of the temple ; while others accomplishing their vows, amounting to more than a thousand men, each armed in like manner, stand in a body on the opposite side. But the image, placed in a small wooden temple, gilded all over, they carry out to another sacred dwelling : then the few who were left about the image draw a four-wheeled carriage, containing the temple and the image that is in it. But the priests, who stand at the entrance, refuse to give them admittance ; and the votaries, bringing succour to the god, oppose, and then strike, whereupon an obstinate combat with clubs ensues, and they break one another's heads, and, as I conjecture, many die of their wounds ; though the Egyptians deny that any one dies. 64. The inhabitants say they instituted this festival on the following occasion : they say, that the mother of Mars dwelt in this temple, and that Mars, who had been educated abroad, when he reached to man's estate, came, and wished to converse with his mother ; and that his mother's attendants, as they had never seen him before, did not allow him to pass them, but repelled him ; whereupon he, having collected men from another city, handled the servants roughly, and got access to his mother. In consequence of this, they say that they have instituted this combat on this festival in honour of Mars.

The Egyptians were likewise the first who made it a point of religion that men should abstain from women in the sacred precincts ; and not enter unwashed after the use of a woman. For almost all other nations, except the Egyptians and Grecians, have intercourse in sacred places, and enter them unwashed ; thinking mankind to be like other animals : therefore, since they see other animals and birds coupling in the shrines¹ and temples of the gods, they conclude that if this were displeasing to the god, the brute creatures even would not do it. Now, they who argue thus, act in a manner that I cannot approve. The Egyptians, then, are beyond measure scru-

¹ See Book I. ch. 199.

pulous in all things concerning religion, and especially in the above-mentioned particulars.

65. Egypt, though bordering on Libya, does not abound in wild beasts ; but all that they have are accounted sacred, as well those that are domesticated as those that are not. But if I should give the reasons why they are consecrated, I must descend in my history to religious matters, which I avoid relating as much as I can ; and such as I have touched upon in the course of my narrative, I have mentioned from necessity. They have a custom relating to animals of the following kind. Superintendents, consisting both of men and women, are appointed to feed every kind separately ; and the son succeeds the father in this office. All the inhabitants of the cities perform their vows to the superintendents in the following manner : having made a vow to the god to whom the animal belongs, they shave either the whole heads of their children, or a half, or a third part of the head, and then weigh the hair in a scale against silver, and whatever the weight may be, they give to the superintendent of the animals ; and she in return cuts up some fish, and gives it as food to the animals : such is the usual mode of feeding them. Should any one kill one of these beasts, if wilfully, death is the punishment ; if by accident, he pays such fine as the priests choose to impose. But whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, whether wilfully or by accident, must necessarily be put to death.

66. Although the domesticated animals are many, they would be much more numerous, were it not for the following accidents which befall the cats. When the females have littered, they no longer seek the company of the males, and they, being desirous of having intercourse with them, are not able to do so ; wherefore they have recourse to the following artifice : having taken the young from the females, and carried them away secretly, they kill them ; though when they have killed them, they do not eat them. The females being deprived of their young, and desirous of others, again seek the company of the males ; for this animal is very fond of its young. When a conflagration takes place, a supernatural impulse seizes on the cats. For the Egyptians, standing at a distance, take care of the cats, and neglect to put out the fire ; but the cats, making their escape, and leaping over the men, throw themselves into the fire ; and when this happens great lament-

ations are made among the Egyptians. In whatever house a cat dies of a natural death, all the family shave their eyebrows only ; but if a dog die, they shave the whole body and the head. 67. All cats that die are carried to certain sacred houses, where being first embalmed, they are buried in the city of Bubastis. All persons bury their dogs in sacred vaults within their own city ; and ichneumons are buried in the same manner as the dogs : but field-mice and hawks they carry to the city of Buto ; the ibis to Hermopolis ; the bears, which are few in number, and the wolves, which are not much larger than foxes, they bury wherever they are found lying.

68. The following is the nature of the crocodile. During the four coldest months it eats nothing, and though it has four feet, it is amphibious. It lays its eggs on land, and there hatches them. It spends the greater part of the day on the dry ground, but the whole night in the river ; for the water is then warmer than the air and dew. Of all living things with which we are acquainted, this, from the least beginning, grows to be the largest. For it lays eggs little larger than those of a goose, and the young is at first in proportion to the egg ; but when grown up it reaches to the length of seventeen cubits, and even more. It has the eyes of a pig, large teeth, and projecting tusks, in proportion to the body : it is the only animal that has no tongue : it does not move the lower jaw, but is the only animal that brings down its upper jaw to the under one. It has strong claws, and a skin covered with scales, that cannot be broken on the back. It is blind in the water, but very quick-sighted on land ; and because it lives for the most part in the water, its mouth is filled with leeches. All other birds and beasts avoid him, but he is at peace with the trochilus, because he receives benefit from that bird. For when the crocodile gets out of the water on land, and then opens its jaws, which it does most commonly towards the west, the trochilus enters its mouth and swallows the leeches : the crocodile is so well pleased with this service that it never hurts the trochilus. 69. With some of the Egyptians crocodiles are sacred ; with others not, but they treat them as enemies. Those who dwell about Thebes, and Lake Mœris, consider them to be very sacred ; and they each of them train up a crocodile, which is taught to be quite

tame ; and they put crystal and gold ear-rings into their ears, and bracelets on their fore paws ; and they give them appointed and sacred food, and treat them as well as possible while alive, and when dead they embalm them, and bury them in sacred vaults. But the people who dwell about the city of Elephantine eat them, not considering them sacred. They are not called crocodiles by the Egyptians, but “*champ-sæ* ;” the Ionians gave them the name of crocodiles, because they thought they resembled lizards, *which are also so called, and* which are found in the hedges in their country. 70. The modes of taking the crocodile are many and various, but I shall only describe that which seems to me most worthy of relation. When the fisherman has baited a hook with the chine of a pig, he lets it down into the middle of the river, and holding a young live pig on the brink of the river, beats it ; the crocodile, hearing the noise, goes in its direction, and meeting with the chine, swallows it ; but the men draw it to land : when it is drawn out on shore, the sportsman first of all plasters its eyes with mud ; and having done this, afterwards manages it very easily ; but until he has done this, he has a great deal of trouble. 71. The hippopotamus is esteemed sacred in the district of Papremis, but not so by the rest of the Egyptians. This is the nature of its shape. It is a quadruped, cloven-footed, with the hoofs of an ox, snub-nosed, has the mane of a horse, projecting tusks, and the tail and neigh of a horse. In size he is equal to a very large ox : his hide is so thick that spear-handles are made of it when dry. 72. Otters are also met with in the river, which are deemed sacred : and amongst fish, they consider that which is called the lepidotus, and the eel, sacred ; these they say are sacred to the Nile ; and among birds, the vulpanser.

73. There is also another sacred bird, called the phoenix, which I have never seen except in a picture ; for it seldom makes its appearance amongst them, only once in five hundred years, as the Heliopolitans affirm : they say that it comes on the death of its sire. If he is like the picture, he is of the following size and description : the plumage of his wings is partly golden-coloured, and partly red ; in outline and size he is very like an eagle. They say that he has the following contrivance, which in my opinion is not credible. They say that he comes from Arabia, and brings the body of his father to

the temple of the sun, having enclosed him in myrrh, and there buries him in the temple. He brings him in this manner : first he moulds an egg of myrrh as large as he is able to carry ; then he tries to carry it, and when he has made the experiment, he hollows out the egg, and puts his parent into it, and stops up with some more myrrh the hole through which he had introduced the body, so when his father is put inside, the weight is the same as before : then, having covered it over, he carries him to the temple of the sun in Egypt. This they say is done by this bird.

74. In the neighbourhood of Thebes there are sacred serpents not at all hurtful to men : they are diminutive in size, and carry two horns that grow on the top of the head. When these serpents die they bury them in the temple of Jupiter, for they say they are sacred to that god. 75. There is a place in Arabia, situated very near the city of Buto, to which I went, on hearing of some winged serpents ; and when I arrived there, I saw bones and spines of serpents, in such quantities as it would be impossible to describe : there were heaps of these spinal bones, some large, some smaller, and others still less ; and there were great numbers of them. The place in which these spinal bones lie scattered, is of the following description : it is a narrow pass between two mountains into a spacious plain ; this plain is contiguous to the plain of Egypt : it is reported, that at the beginning of spring, winged serpents fly from Arabia towards Egypt ; but that ibises, a sort of bird, meet them at the pass, and do not allow the serpents to go by, but kill them : for this service the Arabians say that the ibis is highly revered by the Egyptians ; and the Egyptians acknowledge that they reverence these birds for this reason. 76. The ibis is of the following description : it is all over a deep black, it has the legs of a crane, its beak is much curved, and it is about the size of the crex. Such is the form of the black ones, that fight with the serpents. But those that are commonly conversant among men, (for there are two species,) are bare on the head and the whole neck ; have white plumage, except on the head, the throat, and the tips of the wings and extremity of the tail ; in all these parts that I have mentioned, they are of a deep black ; in their legs and beak they are like the other kind. The form of the serpent is like that

of the water-snake ; but he has wings without feathers, and as like as possible to the wings of a bat. This must suffice for the description of sacred animals.

77. Of the Egyptians, those who inhabit that part of Egypt which is sown with corn, in that they cultivate the memory of past events more than any other men, are the best informed of all with whom I have had intercourse. Their manner of life is this. They purge themselves every month, three days successively, seeking to preserve health by emetics and clysters, for they suppose that all diseases to which men are subject proceed from the food they use. And indeed in other respects the Egyptians, next to the Libyans, are the most healthy people in the world, as I think, on account of the seasons, because they are not liable to change ; for men are most subject to disease at periods of change, and above all others at the change of the seasons. They feed on bread made into loaves of spelt, which they call *cyllestis* ; and they use wine made of barley, for they have no vines in that country. Some fish they dry in the sun, and eat raw, others salted with brine ; and of birds they eat quails, ducks, and smaller birds raw, having first salted them : all other things, whether birds or fishes, that they have, except such as are accounted sacred, they eat either roasted or boiled. 78. At their convivial banquets, among the wealthy classes, when they have finished supper, a man carries round in a coffin the image of a dead body carved in wood, made as like as possible in colour and workmanship, and in size generally about one or two cubits in length ; and showing this to each of the company, he says, " Look upon this, then drink and enjoy yourself ; for when dead you will be like this." This practice they have at their drinking parties.

79. They observe their ancient customs, but acquire no new ones. Among other memorable customs, they have one song, *Linus*, which is sung in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and elsewhere ; in different nations it bears a different name, but it agrees so exactly as to be the same which the Greeks sing, under the name of *Linus*. So that among the many wonderful things seen in Egypt, this is especially wonderful, whence they got this *Linus* ; for they seem to have sung it from time immemorial. The *Linus* in the Egyptian language is called *Maneros* ; and the Egyptians say that he was the only son of

the first king of Egypt, and that happening to die prematurely, he was honoured by the Egyptians in this mourning dirge : and this is the first and only song they have. 80. In this other particular the Egyptians resemble the Lacedæmonians only among all the Grecians : the young men when they meet their elders give way and turn aside ; and when they approach, rise up from their seats. In the following custom, however, they do not resemble any nation of the Greeks ; instead of addressing one another in the streets, they salute by letting the hand fall down as far as the knee. 81. They wear linen tunics fringed round the legs, which they call calasiris, and over these they throw white woollen mantles ; woollen clothes however are not carried into the temples, nor are they buried with them, for that is accounted profane. In this respect they agree with the worshippers of Orpheus and Bacchus, who are Egyptians and Pythagoreans. For it is considered profane for one who is initiated in these mysteries to be buried in woollen garments, and a religious reason is given for this custom.

82. These other things were also invented by the Egyptians. Each month and day is assigned to some particular god ; and according to the day on which each person is born, *they determine* what will befall him, how he will die, and what kind of person he will be. And these things the Grecian poets have made use of. They have also discovered more prodigies than all the rest of the world ; for when any prodigy occurs, they carefully observe and write down the result ; and if a similar occurrence should happen afterwards they think the result will be the same. 83. The art of divination is in this condition : it is attributed to no human being, but only to some of the gods. For they have amongst them an oracle of Hercules, Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Mars, and Jupiter ; and that which they honour above all others, is the oracle of Latona in the city of Buto. Their modes of delivering oracles however are not all alike, but differ from each other. 84. The art of medicine is thus divided amongst them : each physician applies himself to one disease only, and not more. All places abound in physicians ; some physicians are for the eyes, others for the head, others for the teeth, others for the parts about the belly, and others for internal disorders. .

85. Their manner of mourning and burying is as follows. When in a family a man of any consideration dies, all the

females of that family besmear their heads and faces with mud, and then leaving the body in the house, they wander about the city, and beat themselves, having their clothes girt up, and exposing their breasts, and all their relations accompany them. On the other hand, the men beat themselves, being girt up, in like manner. When they have done this, they carry out the body to be embalmed. 86. There are persons who are appointed for this very purpose; they, when the dead body is brought to them, show to the bearers wooden models of corpses, made exactly like by painting. And they show that which they say is the most expensive manner of embalming, the name of which I do not think it right to mention on such an occasion; they then show the second, which is inferior and less expensive; and then the third, which is the cheapest. Having explained them all, they learn from them in what way they wish the body to be prepared; then the relations, when they have agreed on the price, depart; but the embalmers remaining in the workshops thus proceed to embalm in the most expensive manner. First they draw out the brains through the nostrils with an iron hook, taking part of it out in this manner, the rest by the infusion of drugs. Then with a sharp Ethiopian stone they make an incision in the side, and take out all the bowels; and having cleansed the abdomen and rinsed it with palm-wine, they next sprinkle it with pounded perfumes. Then having filled the belly with pure myrrh pounded, and cassia, and other perfumes, frankincense excepted, they sew it up again; and when they have done this, they steep it in natrum, leaving it under for seventy days; for a longer time than this it is not lawful to steep it. At the expiration of the seventy days they wash the corpse, and wrap the whole body in bandages of flaxen cloth, smearing it with gum, which the Egyptians commonly use instead of glue. After this the relations, having taken the body back again, make a wooden case in the shape of a man, and having made it, they enclose the body; and thus, having fastened it up, they store it in a sepulchral chamber, setting it upright against the wall. In this manner they prepare the bodies that are embalmed in the most expensive way. 87. Those who, avoiding great expense, desire the middle way, they prepare in the following manner. When they have charged their syringes with oil made from cedar, they fill the abdomen

of the corpse without making any incision or taking out the bowels, but inject it at the fundament ; and having prevented the injection from escaping, they steep the body in natrum for the prescribed number of days, and on the last day they let out from the abdomen the oil of cedar which they had before injected, and it has such power that it brings away the intestines and vitals in a state of dissolution ; the natrum dissolves the flesh, and nothing of the body remains but the skin and the bones. When they have done this they return the body without any further operation. 88. The third method of embalming is this, which is used only for the poorer sort : having thoroughly rinsed the abdomen in syrmaea, they steep it with natrum for the seventy days, and then deliver it to be carried away. 89. But the wives of considerable persons, when they die, they do not immediately deliver to be embalmed, nor such women as are very beautiful and of celebrity, but when they have been dead three or four days they then deliver them to the embalmers ; and they do this for the following reason, that the embalmers may not abuse the bodies of such women ; for they say that one man was detected in abusing a body that was fresh, and that a fellow-workman informed against him. 90. Should any person, whether Egyptian or stranger, no matter which, be found to have been seized by a crocodile, or drowned in the river, to whatever city the body may be carried, the inhabitants are by law compelled to have the body embalmed, and having adorned it in the handsomest manner, to bury it in the sacred vaults. Nor is it lawful for any one else, whether relations or friends, to touch him ; but the priests of the Nile bury the corpse with their own hands, as being something more than human.

91. They avoid using Grecian customs ; and, in a word, the customs of all other people whatsoever. All the other Egyptians are particular in this. But there is a large city called Chemmis, situate in the Thebaic district, near Neapolis, in which is a quadrangular temple dedicated to Perseus the son of Danae ; palm trees grow round it, and the portico is of stone, very spacious, and over it are placed two large stone statues. In this enclosure is a temple, and in it is placed a statue of Perseus. The Chemmitæ affirm, that Perseus has frequently appeared to them on earth, and frequently within the temple, and that a sandal worn by him is sometimes

found, which is two cubits in length ; and that after its appearance, all Egypt flourishes. This they affirm. They adopt the following Grecian customs in honour of Perseus : they celebrate gymnastic games, embracing every kind of contest ; and they give as prizes, cattle, cloaks, and skins. When I inquired why Perseus appeared only to them, and why they differed from the rest of the Egyptians, in holding gymnastic games ; they answered, " that Perseus derived his origin from their city ; for that Danaus and Lynceus, who were both natives of Chemmis, sailed from them into Greece ;" and tracing the descent down from them, they came to Perseus ; " and that he coming to Egypt, for the same reason as the Greeks allege, in order to bring away the Gorgon's head from Libya, they affirmed that he came to them also and acknowledged all his kindred ; and that when he came to Egypt he was well acquainted with the name of Chemmis, having heard it from his mother : they add, that by his order they instituted gymnastic games in honour of him."

92. The Egyptians who dwell above the morasses, observe all these customs ; but those who live in the morasses, have the same customs as the rest of the Egyptians, and as in other things, so in this, that each man has but one wife, like the Greeks. But to obtain food more easily, they have the following inventions : when the river is full, and has made the plains like a sea, great numbers of lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus, spring up in the water : these they gather and dry in the sun ; then having pounded the middle of the lotus, which resembles a poppy, they make bread of it and bake it. The root also of this lotus is fit for food, and is tolerably sweet ; and is round, and of the size of an apple. There are also other lilies, like roses, that grow in the river, the fruit of which is contained in a separate pod, that springs up from the root in form very like a wasp's nest ; in this there are many berries fit to be eaten, of the size of an olive stone, and they are eaten both fresh and dried. The byblus, which is an annual plant, when they have pulled it up in the fens, they cut off the top of it and put to some other uses, but the lower part that is left, to the length of a cubit, they eat and sell. Those who are anxious to eat the byblus dressed in the most delicate manner, stew it in a hot pan and then eat it. Some of them live entirely on

fish, which they catch, and gut, and dry in the sun, and then eat them dried.

93. Fishes that are gregarious are seldom found in the rivers, but being bred in the lakes, they proceed as follows : when the desire of engendering comes upon them, they swim out in shoals to the sea ; the males lead the way, scattering the sperm ; and the females following swallow it, and are thus impregnated. When they find themselves full in the sea, they swim back, each to their accustomed haunts ; however, the males no longer take the lead, but this is done by females : they, leading the way in shoals, do as the males did before ; for they scatter their spawn by degrees, and the males following devour them ; but from the spawn that escapes and is not devoured, the fish that grow up are engendered. Any of these fish that happen to be taken in their passage towards the sea, are found bruised on the left side of the head ; but those that are taken on their return, are bruised on the right ; and this proceeds from the following cause : they swim out to the sea keeping close to the land on the left side, and when they swim back again, they keep to the same shore, hugging it and touching it as much as possible, for fear of losing their way by the stream. When the Nile begins to overflow, the hollow parts of the land and the marshes near the river first begin to be filled by the water oozing through from the river ; and as soon as they are full, they are immediately filled with little fishes ; the reason of which, as I conjecture, is this : in the preceding year, when the Nile retreated, the fish that had deposited their eggs in the marshy ground, went away with the last of the waters ; but when, as the time came round, the water has risen again, fishes are immediately produced from these eggs. Thus it happens with respect to the fishes.

94. The Egyptians who live about the fens use an oil drawn from the fruit of the sillicypria, which they call *cici* ; and they make it in the following manner : they plant these sillicypria, which in Greece grow spontaneous and wild, on the banks of the rivers and lakes : these, when planted in Egypt, bear abundance of fruit, though of an offensive smell. When they have gathered it, some bruise it and press out the oil ; others boil and stew it, and collect the liquid that flows from it ; this is fat, and no less suited for lamps than olive oil ; but it emits an offensive smell. 95. They have the following contrivance

to protect themselves from the mosquitoes, which abound very much. The towers are of great service to those who inhabit the upper parts of the marshes; for the mosquitoes are prevented by the winds from flying high: but those who live round the marshes have contrived another expedient instead of the towers. Every man has a net, with which in the day he takes fish, and at night uses it in the following manner: in whatever bed he sleeps, he throws the net around it, and then getting in, sleeps under it: if he should wrap himself up in his clothes or in linen, the mosquitoes would bite through them, but they never attempt to bite through the net.

96. Their ships in which they convey merchandise are made of the acacia, which in shape is very like the Cyrenæan lotus, and its exudation is gum. From this acacia they cut planks about two cubits in length, and join them together like bricks, building their ships in the following manner. They fasten the planks of two cubits length round stout and long ties: when they have thus built the hulls, they lay benches across them. They make no use of ribs, but caulk the seams inside with byblus. They make only one rudder, and that is driven through the keel. They use a mast of acacia, and sails of byblus. These vessels are unable to sail up the stream unless a fair wind prevails, but are towed from the shore. They are thus carried down the stream: there is a hurdle made of tamarisk, wattled with a band of reeds, and a stone bored through the middle, of about two talents in weight; of these two, the hurdle is fastened to a cable, and let down at the prow of the vessel to be carried on by the stream; and the stone by another cable at the stern; and by this means the hurdle, by the stream bearing hard upon it, moves quickly and draws along "the baris," (for this is the name given to these vessels,) but the stone being dragged at the stern, and sunk to the bottom, keeps the vessel in its course. They have very many of these vessels, and some of them carry many thousand talents. 97. When the Nile inundates the country, the cities alone are seen above its surface, very like the islands in the Ægean Sea; for all the rest of Egypt becomes a sea, and the cities alone are above the surface. When this happens, they navigate no longer by the channel of the river, but across the plain. To a person sailing from Naucratis to Memphis, the passage is by the pyramids; this, however, is not the usual

course, but by the point of the Delta and the city of Cercasorus ; and in sailing from the sea and Canopus to Naucratis across the plain, you will pass by the city of Anthylla and that called Archandropolis. 98. Of these, Anthylla, which is a city of importance, is assigned to purchase shoes for the wife of the reigning king of Egypt ; and this has been so as long as Egypt has been subject to the Persians. The other city appears to me to derive its name from the son-in-law of Danaus, Archander, son of Phthius, and grandson of Achæus ; for it is called Archandropolis. There may indeed have been another Archander ; but the name is certainly not Egyptian.

99. Hitherto I have related what I have seen, what I have thought, and what I have learnt by inquiry : but from this point I proceed to give the Egyptian account according to what I heard ; and there is added to it something also of my own observation. The priests informed me, that Menes, who first ruled over Egypt, in the first place protected Memphis by a mound ; for the whole river formerly ran close to the sandy mountain on the side of Libya ; but Menes, beginning about a hundred stades above Memphis, filled in the elbow towards the south, dried up the old channel, and conducted the river into a canal, so as to make it flow between the mountains :² this bend of the Nile, which flows excluded from *its ancient course*, is still carefully upheld by the Persians, being made secure every year ; for if the river should break through and overflow in this part, there would be danger lest all Memphis should be flooded. When the part cut off had been made firm land by this Menes, who was first king, he in the first place built on it the city that is now called Memphis ; for Memphis is situate in the narrow part of Egypt ; and outside of it he excavated a lake from the river towards the north and the west ; for the Nile itself bounds it towards the east. In the next place, *they relate* that he built in it the temple of Vulcan, which is vast and well worthy of mention. 100. After this the priests enumerated from a book the names of three hundred and thirty other kings. In so many generations of men, there were eighteen Ethiopians and one native queen, the rest were Egyptians. The name of this woman who reigned, was the same as that of the Babylonian queen, Nitocris : they said that she avenged her brother.

² That is, those of Arabia and Libya.

whom the Egyptians had slain, while reigning over them ; and after they had slain him, they then delivered the kingdom to her ; and she, to avenge him, destroyed many of the Egyptians by stratagem : for having caused an extensive apartment to be made under ground, she pretended that she was going to consecrate it, but in reality had another design in view : and having invited those of the Egyptians whom she knew to have been principally concerned in the murder, she gave a great banquet, and when they were feasting, she let in the river upon them, through a large concealed channel. This is all they related of her, except that, when she had done this, she threw herself into a room full of ashes in order that she might escape punishment. 101. Of the other kings they did not mention any memorable deeds, nor that they were in any respect renowned, except one, the last of them, Mœris ; but he accomplished some memorable works, as the portal of Vulcan's temple, facing the north wind ; and dug a lake, (the dimensions of which I shall describe hereafter,) and built pyramids in it, the size of which I shall also mention when I come to speak of the lake itself. He, then, achieved these several works, but none of the others achieved any thing.

102. Having therefore passed them by, I shall proceed to make mention of the king that came after them, whose name was Sesostris. The priests said that he was the first who, setting out in ships of war³ from the Arabian Gulf, subdued those nations that dwell by the Red Sea ; until sailing onwards, he arrived at a sea which was not navigable on account of the shoals ; and afterwards, when he came back to Egypt, according to the report of the priests, he assembled a large army, and marched through the continent, subduing every nation that he fell in with ; and wherever he met with any who were valiant, and who were very ardent in defence of their liberty, he erected columns in their territory, with inscriptions declaring his own name and country, and how he had conquered them by his power : but when he subdued any cities without fighting and easily, he made inscriptions on columns in the same way as among the nations that had proved themselves valiant ; and he had besides engraved on them the secret parts of a woman, wishing to make it known that they were cowardly. 103. Thus doing, he traversed the

³ See Book I. chap. 2, note ⁵.

continent, until, having crossed from Asia into Europe, he subdued the Scythians and Thracians: to these the Egyptian army appears to me to have reached, and no farther; for in their country the columns appear to have been erected, but no where beyond them. From thence, wheeling round, he went back again; and when he arrived at the river Phasis, I am unable after this to say with certainty, whether king Sesostris himself, having detached a portion of his army, left them there to settle in that country, or whether some of the soldiers, being wearied with his wandering expedition, of their own accord remained by the river Phasis. 104. For the Colchians were evidently Egyptians, and I say this having myself observed it before I heard it from others; and as it was a matter of interest to me I inquired of both people, and the Colchians had more recollection of the Egyptians than the Egyptians had of the Colchians; yet the Egyptians said that they thought the Colchians were descended from the army of Sesostris; and I formed my conjecture, not only because they are swarthy and curly-headed, for this amounts to nothing, because others are so likewise, but chiefly from the following circumstances, because the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians, are the only nations of the world who, from the first, have practised circumcision. For the Phœnicians, and the Syrians in Palestine, acknowledge that they learnt the custom from the Egyptians; and the Syrians about Thermodon and the river Parthenius, with their neighbours the Macrones, confess that they very lately learnt the same custom from the Colchians. And these are the only nations that are circumcised, and thus appear evidently to act in the same manner as the Egyptians. But of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, I am unable to say which learnt it from the other, for it is evidently a very ancient custom. And this appears to me a strong proof that the Phœnicians learnt this practice through their intercourse with the Egyptians, for all the Phœnicians who have any commerce with Greece no longer imitate the Egyptians in this usage, but abstain from circumcising their children. 105. I will now mention⁴ another fact respecting the Colchians, how they resemble the Egyptians. They alone and the Egyptians manufacture⁵ linen in the same manner; and the whole way of living, and the language, is similar in both

⁴ "Come now, I will also mention."

⁵ See chap. 35.

nations; but the Colchian linen is called by the Greeks Sardonian, though that which comes from Egypt is called Egyptian. 106. As to the pillars which Sesosthis king of Egypt erected in the different countries, most of them are evidently no longer in existence, but in Syrian Palestine I myself saw some still remaining, and the inscriptions before mentioned still on them, and the private parts of a woman. There are also in Ionia two images of this king, carved on rocks, one on the way from Ephesia to Phocæa, the other from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places a man is carved, four cubits and a half high, holding a spear in his right hand, and in his left a bow, and the rest of his equipment in unison, for it is partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian; from one shoulder to the other across the breast extend sacred Egyptian characters engraved, which have the following meaning: "I ACQUIRED THIS REGION BY MY OWN SHOULDERS." Who or whence he is, he does not here show, but has elsewhere made known. Some, however, who have seen these monuments have conjectured them to be images of Memnon, herein being very far from the truth.

107. The priests said moreover of this Egyptian Sesosthis, that returning and bringing with him many men from the nations whose territories he had subdued, when he arrived at the Pelusian Daphnæ, his brother, to whom he had committed the government of Egypt, invited him to an entertainment, and his sons with him, and caused wood to be piled up round the house, and having caused it to be piled up, set it on fire: but that Sesosthis, being informed of this, immediately consulted with his wife, for he took his wife with him; and she advised him to extend two of his six sons across the fire, and form a bridge over the burning mass, and that the rest should step on them and make their escape. Sesosthis did so, and two of his sons were in this manner burnt to death, but the rest, together with their father, were saved. 108. Sesosthis having returned to Egypt, and taken revenge on his brother, employed the multitude of prisoners whom he brought from the countries he had subdued, in the following works: these were the persons who drew the huge stones which, in the time of this king, were conveyed to the temple of Vulcan; they, too, were compelled to dig all the canals now seen in Egypt; by their involuntary labour they made Egypt, which before was throughout practicable for horses and carriages,

unfit for these purposes ; for from that time Egypt, though it was one level plain, became impassable for horses or carriages ; and this is caused by the canals, which are numerous and in every direction. But the king intersected the country for this reason : such of the Egyptians as occupied the cities not on the river, but inland, when the river receded, being in want of water, were forced to use a brackish beverage which they drew⁶ from wells ; and for this reason Egypt was intersected. 109. They said also that this king divided the country amongst all the Egyptians, giving an equal square allotment to each ; and from thence he drew his revenues, having required them to pay a fixed tax every year ; but if the river happened to take away a part of any one's allotment, he was to come to him and make known what had happened ; whereupon the king sent persons to inspect and measure how much the land was diminished, that in future he might pay a proportionate part of the appointed tax. Hence land-measuring appears to me to have had its beginning, and to have passed over into Greece : for the pole⁷ and the sun-dial, and the division of the day into twelve parts, the Greeks learnt from the Babylonians. 110. This king then was the only Egyptian that ruled over Ethiopia ; and he left as memorials before Vulcan's temple, statues of stone ; two of thirty cubits, himself and his wife ; and his four sons, each of twenty cubits. A long time after, the priest of Vulcan would not suffer Darius the Persian to place his statue before them, saying, "that deeds had not been achieved by him equal to those of Sesostris the Egyptian : for that Sesostris had subdued other nations, not fewer than Darius had done, and the Scythians besides ; but that Darius was not able to conquer the Scythians ; wherefore it was not right for one who had not surpassed him in achievements to place his statue before his offerings." They relate, however, that Darius pardoned these observations.

111. After the death of Sesostris, they said that his son Pheron succeeded to the kingdom ; that he undertook no military expedition, and happened to become blind through the following occurrence : the river having risen a very great

⁶ Literally, "using it from wells."

⁷ Πόλος here means "a concave dial," shaped like the vault of heaven.—See *Baehr*.

height for that time, to eighteen cubits, when it overflowed the fields, a storm of wind arose, and the river was tossed about in waves; whereupon they say that the king with great arrogance laid hold of a javelin, and threw it into the midst of the eddies of the river; and that immediately afterwards he was seized with a pain in his eyes, and became blind. He continued blind for ten years; but in the eleventh year an oracle reached him from the city of Buto, importing "that the time of his punishment was expired, and he should recover his sight, by washing his eyes with the urine of a woman who had had intercourse with her own husband only, and had known no other man. He therefore made trial of his own wife first, and afterwards, when he did not recover his sight, he made trial of others indifferently; and at length having recovered his sight, he collected the women of whom he had made trial, except the one by washing with whose urine he had recovered his sight, into one city, which is now called Erythrebolus, and when he had assembled them together he had them all burnt, together with the city; but the woman, by washing in whose urine he recovered his sight, he took to himself to wife. Having escaped from this calamity in his eyes, he dedicated other offerings throughout all the celebrated temples, and, what is most worthy of mention, he dedicated to the temple of the sun works worthy of admiration, two stone obelisks, each consisting of one stone, and each a hundred cubits in length and eight cubits in breadth.

112. They said that a native of Memphis succeeded him in the kingdom, whose name in the Grecian language is Proteus: there is to this day an enclosure sacred to him at Memphis, which is very beautiful and richly adorned, situated to the south side of the temple of Vulcan. Tyrian Phœnicians dwell round this enclosure, and the whole tract is called the Tyrian camp.⁸ In this enclosure of Proteus, is a temple which is called after the foreign Venus; and I conjecture that this is the temple of Helen the daughter of Tyndarus, both because I have heard that Helen lived with Proteus, and also because it is named from the foreign Venus: for of all the other temples of Venus, none is any where called by the name

⁸ In chap. 154, we meet with "the camp of the Ionians and Carians."

of foreign. 113. When I inquired about Helen, the priests told me that the case was thus : that when Paris had carried Helen off from Sparta, he sailed away to his own country, and when he was in the *Ægean*, violent winds drove him out of his course into the Egyptian sea, and from thence (for the gale did not abate) he came to Egypt, and in Egypt to that which is now called the Canopic mouth of the Nile, and to *Taricheæ*. On that shore stood a temple of *Hercules*, which remains to this day ; in which, if the slave of any person whatsoever takes refuge, and has sacred marks impressed on him, so devoting himself to the god, it is not lawful to lay hands on him. This custom continues the same to my time as it was from the first. The attendants of Paris therefore, when informed of the custom that prevailed respecting the temple, revolted from him, and sitting as suppliants of the god, accused Paris with a view to injure him, relating the whole account, how things stood with regard to Helen, and his injustice towards *Menelaus*. These accusations were made to the priests, and the governor of that mouth, whose name was *Thonis*. 114. *Thonis* having heard this, immediately sends a message to *Proteus* at *Memphis*, to the following effect : “A stranger of Trojan race has arrived, after having committed a nefarious deed in Greece ; for having beguiled the wife of his own host, he has brought her with him, and very great treasures, having been driven by winds to this land. Whether then shall we allow him to depart unmolested, or shall we seize what he has brought with him ?” *Proteus* sends back a messenger with the following answer : “Seize this man, whoever he may be, that has acted so wickedly towards his host, and bring him to me, that I may know what he will say for himself.” 115. *Thonis*, having received this message, seizes Paris, and detains his ships ; and then sent him up to *Memphis* with Helen and his treasures, and besides the suppliants also. When all were carried up, *Proteus* asked Paris who he was, and whence he had sailed ; and he gave him an account of his family, and told him the name of his country, and moreover described his voyage and from whence he had set sail. Then *Proteus* asked him whence he got Helen ; and when Paris prevaricated in his account, and did not speak the truth, they who had become suppliants accused him, relating the whole account of his crime. At last *Proteus*

pronounced this judgment, saying : " If I did not think it of great moment, not to put any stranger to death who, being prevented by the winds from pursuing his course, has come to my territory, I would take vengeance on you on behalf of the Grecian, you basest of men, who, after you had met with hospitable treatment, have committed the most nefarious deed : you seduced the wife of your host, and this did not content you, but having excited her passions,⁹ you have taken her away by stealth. Nor even did this content you, but you have also robbed the house of your host, and come hither with the spoils : now therefore, since I deem it of great moment not to put a stranger to death, I will not suffer you to carry away this woman, or this treasure, but I will keep them for your Grecian host, until he please to come himself and take them away ; as for you and your shipmates, I bid you depart out of my territory to some other within three days ; if not, you shall be treated as enemies."

116. The priests gave this account of the arrival of Helen at the court of Proteus. And Homer appears to me to have heard this relation ; but it was not equally suited to epic poetry as the other which he has made use of, wherefore he has rejected it, though he has plainly shown that he was acquainted with this account also. And this is evident ; since he has described in the *Iliad* (and has no where else retraced his steps) the wanderings of Paris, how, while he was carrying off Helen, he was driven out of his course, and wandered to other places, and how he arrived at Sidon of Phœnicia : and he has mentioned it in the exploits of Diomedes, his verses are as follows : " Where were the variegated robes, works of Sidonian women, which god-like Paris himself brought from Sidon, sailing over the wide sea, along the course by which he conveyed high-born Helen."¹ He mentions it also in the *Odyssey*, in the following lines : " Such well-chosen drugs had the daughter of Jove, of excellent quality, which Polydamna gave her, the Egyptian wife of Thonis, where the fruitful earth produces many drugs, many excellent when mixed, and many noxious."² Menelaus also says the following to Telemachus : " The gods detained me in Egypt,

⁹ Literally, " having raised the wings."

¹ *Iliad*, vi. 289.

² *Odyssey*, iv. 227.

though anxious to return hither, because I did not offer perfect hecatombs to them.”³ He shows in these verses, that he was acquainted with the wandering of Paris in Egypt; for Syria borders on Egypt, and the Phœnicians, to whom Sidon belongs, inhabit Syria. 117. From these verses, and this first passage especially, it is clear that Homer was not the author of the Cyprian verses, but some other person. For in the Cyprian verses it is said, that Paris reached Ilium from Sparta on the third day, when he carried off Helen, having met with a favourable wind and a smooth sea; whereas Homer in the *Iliad* says that he wandered far while taking her with him. And now I take my leave of Homer and the Cyprian verses.

118. When I asked the priests whether the Greeks tell an idle story about the Trojan war, or not; they gave me the following answer, saying that they knew it by inquiry from Menelaus himself: ‘That after the rape of Helen, a vast army of Grecians came to the land of Teucria to assist Menelaus; and that when the army had landed and pitched their camp, they sent ambassadors to Ilium, and that Menelaus himself went with them: when they reached the walls, they demanded the restitution of Helen, and the treasures that Paris had stolen from him, and satisfaction for the injuries done: that the Trojans told the same story then and ever after, both when put to the oath and when not swearing, that they had neither Helen nor the treasures about which they were accused, but that they were all in Egypt; and that they could not with justice be answerable for what Proteus the Egyptian king had in his possession: but the Greeks, thinking they were derided by them, therefore besieged them until they took their city. When, however, after they had taken the fortifications, Helen was no where found, but they heard the same story as before, then they gave credit to the first account, and sent Menelaus himself to Proteus. 119. When Menelaus reached Egypt, he sailed up to Memphis, and related the real truth: he both met with very hospitable entertainment, and received back Helen unharmed, and besides all his treasures. Menelaus, however, though he met with this treatment, behaved very iniquitously to the Egyptians: for when he was desirous of sailing away, contrary winds detained him; and

³ *Odyssey*, iv. 351.

when this continued the same for a long time, he had recourse to a nefarious expedient ; for having taken two children of the people of the country, he sacrificed them ;⁴ but afterwards, when it was discovered that he had done this deed, he was detested and persecuted by the Egyptians, and fled with his ships to Libya : whither he bent his course from thence, the Egyptians were unable to say ; but of the above particulars they said they knew some by inquiry, and others, having taken place among themselves, they were able from their own knowledge to speak of with certainty. 120. These things the priests of the Egyptians related ; and I myself agree with the account that is given respecting Helen, from the following considerations. If Helen had been in Ilium, she would have been restored to the Grecians, whether Paris were willing or not. For surely Priam could not have been so infatuated, nor the others his relatives, as to be willing to expose their own persons, their children, and the city to danger, in order that Paris might cohabit with Helen. But even if at first they had taken this resolution, yet seeing that many of the other Trojans perished, whenever they engaged with the Greeks, and that on every occasion when a battle took place, two or three or even more of Priam's own sons fell, if we may speak on the authority of the epic poets ;—when such things happened, I think, that if Priam himself were cohabiting with Helen, he would have restored her to the Greeks, in order to be delivered from such present evils. Neither would the kingdom devolve upon Paris, so that when Priam was now old, the administration of affairs should fall upon him ; but Hector, who was both older and more a man than he was, would succeed to the throne on the death of Priam ; nor did it become him to give way to his brother when acting unjustly, and this too when through his means so many evils were falling on himself, and on all the rest of the Trojans. But indeed they had it not in their power to restore Helen, nor, when they spoke the truth, did the Greeks give credit to them : providence ordaining, as I am of opinion, that they, by utterly perishing, should make it clear to all men, that for great crimes great punishments at the hands of the gods are

⁴ Literally, "he made victims of them;" by *εὐτομα* are meant "victims slain to appease the infernal deities."

in store. Thus these things have been related as they appear to me.

121. The priests also informed me, that Rhampsinitus succeeded Proteus in the kingdom : he left as a monument the portico of the temple of Vulcan, fronting to the west ; and he erected two statues before the portico, twenty-five cubits high. Of these, the one standing to the north the Egyptians call Summer ; and that to the south, Winter : and the one that they call Summer, they worship and do honour to ; but the one called Winter, they treat in a quite contrary way.

1. This king, they said, possessed a great quantity of money, such as no one of the succeeding kings was able to surpass, or even nearly come up to ; and he, wishing to treasure up his wealth in safety, built a chamber of stone, of which one of the walls adjoined the outside of the palace. But the builder, forming a plan against it, devised the following contrivance ; he fitted one of the stones so that it might be easily taken out by two men, or even one. When the chamber was finished, the king laid up his treasures in it ; but in course of time the builder, finding his end approaching, called his sons to him, for he had two, and described to them how (providing for them that they might have abundant sustenance) he had contrived when building the king's treasury ; and having clearly explained to them every thing relating to the removal of the stone, he gave them its dimensions, and told them, if they would observe his instructions, they would be stewards of the king's riches. He accordingly died, and the sons were not long in applying themselves to the work ; but having come by night to the palace, and having found the stone in the building, they easily removed it, and carried off a great quantity of treasure. 2. When the king happened to open the chamber, he was astonished at seeing the vessels deficient in treasure ; but he was not able to accuse any one, as the seals were unbroken, and the chamber well secured. When therefore, on his opening it two or three times, the treasures were always evidently diminished, (for the thieves did not cease plundering,) he adopted the following plan ; he ordered traps to be made, and placed them round the vessels in which the treasures were. But when the thieves came as before, and one of them had entered, as soon as he went near a vessel, he was straightway caught in the trap ; perceiving, there-

fore, in what a predicament he was, he immediately called to his brother, and told him what had happened, and bade him enter as quick as possible, and cut off his head, lest, if he was seen and recognised, he should ruin him also: the other thought that he spoke well, and did as he was advised; then, having fitted in the stone, he returned home, taking with him his brother's head. 3. When day came, the king having entered the chamber, was astonished at seeing the body of the thief in the trap without the head, but the chamber secure, and without any means of entrance or exit. In this perplexity he contrived the following plan; he hung up the body of the thief from the wall, and having placed sentinels there, he ordered them to seize and bring before him whomsoever they should see weeping or expressing commiseration at the spectacle. The mother was greatly grieved at the body being suspended, and coming to words with her surviving son, commanded him, by any means he could, to contrive how he might take down and bring away the corpse of his brother; but, should he neglect to do so, she threatened to go to the king, and inform him that he had the treasures. 4. When the mother treated her surviving son harshly, and when with many entreaties he was unable to persuade her, he contrived the following plan; having got some asses, and having filled some skins with wine, he put them on the asses, and then drove them along; but when he came near the sentinels that guarded the suspended corpse, having drawn out two or three of the necks of the skins that hung down, he loosened them; and when the wine ran out, he beat his head, and cried out aloud, as if he knew not to which of the asses he should turn first: but the sentinels, when they saw wine flowing in abundance, ran into the road, with vessels in their hands, caught the wine that was being spilt, thinking it all their own gain; but the man, feigning anger, railed bitterly against them all; however, as the sentinels soothed him, he at length pretended to be pacified, and to forego his anger; at last he drove his asses out of the road, and set them to rights again. When more conversation passed, and one of the sentinels joked with him and moved him to laughter, he gave them another of the skins; and they, just as they were, lay down and set to to drink, and joined him to their party, and invited him to stay and drink with them: he was persuaded, forsooth, and re-

mained with them ; and as they treated him kindly during the drinking, he gave them another of the skins ; and the sentinels, having taken very copious draughts, became exceedingly drunk, and being overpowered by the wine, fell asleep on the spot where they had been drinking. But he, as the night was far advanced, took down the body of his brother, and by way of insult shaved the right cheeks of all the sentinels ; then having laid the corpse on the asses, he drove home, having performed his mother's injunctions. 5. The king, when he was informed that the body of the thief had been stolen, was exceedingly indignant, and, resolving by any means to find out the contriver of this artifice, had recourse, *as it is said*, to the following plan, a design which to me seems incredible : he placed his own daughter in a brothel, and ordered her to admit all alike to her embraces, but before they had intercourse with her, to compel each one to tell her what he had done during his life most clever and most wicked, and whosoever should tell her the facts relating to the thief, she was to seize, and not suffer him to escape. When, therefore, the daughter did what her father commanded, the thief, having ascertained for what purpose this contrivance was had recourse to, and being desirous to outdo the king in craftiness, did as follows : having cut off the arm of a fresh corpse at the shoulder, he took it with him under his cloak, and having gone in to the king's daughter, and being asked the same questions as all the rest were, he related that he had done the most wicked thing when he cut off his brother's head who was caught in a trap in the king's treasury ; and the most clever thing, when, having made the sentinels drunk, he took away the corpse of his brother that was hung up : she, when she heard this, endeavoured to seize him, but the thief in the dark held out to her the dead man's arm, and she seized it and held it fast, imagining that she had got hold of the man's own arm ; then the thief, having let it go, made his escape through the door. 6. When this also was reported to the king, he was astonished at the shrewdness and daring of the man ; and at last, sending throughout all the cities, he caused a proclamation to be made, offering a free pardon, and promising great reward to the man, if he would discover himself. The thief, relying on this promise, went to the king's palace ; and Rhampsinitus greatly admired him, and gave him his daughter in

marriage, accounting him the most knowing of all men ; for that the Egyptians are superior to all others, but he was superior to the Egyptians.

122. After this, they said, that this king descended alive into the place which the Greeks call Hades, and there played at dice with Ceres, and sometimes won, and other times lost ; and that he came up again and brought with him as a present from her a napkin of gold. On account of the descent of Rhampsinitus, since he came back again they said that the Egyptians celebrated a festival : this I know they observed even in my time ; but whether they held this feast for some other reason, or for that above mentioned, I am unable to say. However, on that same day, the priests, having woven a cloak, bind the eyes of one of their number with a scarf, and having conducted him with the cloak on him to the way that leads to the temple of Ceres, they then return : upon which they say, this priest with his eyes bound is led by two wolves to the temple of Ceres, twenty stades distant from the city, and afterwards the wolves lead him back to the same place. 123. Any person to whom such things appear credible may adopt the accounts given by the Egyptians ; it is my object, however, throughout the whole history, to write what I hear from each people. The Egyptians say that Ceres and Bacchus hold the chief sway in the infernal regions ; and the Egyptians also were the first who asserted the doctrine that the soul of man is immortal, and that when the body perishes it enters into some other animal, constantly springing into existence ; and when it has passed through the different kinds of terrestrial, marine, and aerial beings, it again enters into the body of a man that is born ; and that this revolution is made in three thousand years. Some of the Greeks have adopted this opinion, some earlier, others later, as if it were their own ; but although I knew their names I do not mention them.

124. Now, they told me, that to the reign of Rhampsinitus there was a perfect distribution of justice, and that all Egypt was in a high state of prosperity ; but that after him Cheops, coming to reign over them, plunged into every kind of wickedness. For that, having shut up all the temples, he first of all forbade them to offer sacrifice, and afterwards he ordered all the Egyptians to work for himself ; some, accordingly, were

appointed to draw stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountain down to the Nile, others he ordered to receive the stones when transported in vessels across the river, and to drag them to the mountain called the Libyan. And they worked to the number of a hundred thousand men at a time, each party during three months. The time during which the people were thus harassed by toil, lasted ten years on the road which they constructed, along which they drew the stones, a work, in my opinion, not much less than the pyramid : for its length is five stades, and its width ten orgyæ, and its height, where it is the highest, eight orgyæ ; and it is of polished stone, with figures carved on it : on this road then ten years were expended, and in forming the subterraneous apartments on the hill, on which the pyramids stand, which he had made as a burial vault for himself, in an island, formed by draining a canal from the Nile. Twenty years were spent in erecting the pyramid itself : of this, which is square, each face is eight plethra, and the height is the same ; it is composed of polished stones, and jointed with the greatest exactness ; none of the stones are less than thirty feet. 125. This pyramid was built thus ; in the form of steps, which some call crossæ, others bomides. When they had first built it in this manner, they raised the remaining stones by machines made of short pieces of wood : having lifted them from the ground to the first range of steps, when the stone arrived there, it was put on another machine that stood ready on the first range ; and from this it was drawn to the second range on another machine ; for the machines were equal in number to the ranges of steps ; or they removed the machine, which was only one, and portable, to each range in succession, whenever they wished to raise the stone higher ; for I should relate it in both ways, as it is related. The highest parts of it, therefore, were first finished, and afterwards they completed the parts next following ; but last of all they finished the parts on the ground, and that were lowest. On the pyramid is shown an inscription, in Egyptian characters, how much was expended in radishes, onions, and garlic, for the workmen ; which the interpreter, as I well remember, reading the inscription, told me amounted to one thousand six hundred talents of silver. And if this be really the case, how much more was probably expended in iron tools, in bread, and in

clothes for the labourers, since they occupied in building the works the time which I mentioned, and no short time besides, as I think, in cutting and drawing the stones, and in forming the subterraneous excavation. 126. *It is related* that Cheops reached such a degree of infamy, that being in want of money, he prostituted his own daughter in a brothel, and ordered her to extort, they did not say how much ; but she exacted a certain sum of money, privately, as much as her father ordered her ; and contrived to leave a monument of herself, and asked every one that came in to her to give her a stone towards the edifice she designed : of these stones they said the pyramid was built that stands in the middle of the three, before the great pyramid, each side of which is a plethron and a half in length. 127. The Egyptians say that this Cheops reigned fifty years ; and when he died, his brother Chephren succeeded to the kingdom ; and he followed the same practices as the other, both in other respects, and in building a pyramid ; which does not come up to the dimensions of his brother's, for I myself measured them ; nor has it subterraneous chambers ; nor does a channel from the Nile flow to it, as to the other ; but this flows through an artificial aqueduct round an island within, in which they say the body of Cheops is laid. Having laid the first course of variegated Ethiopian stones, less in height than the other by forty feet, he built it near the large pyramid. They both stand on the same hill, which is about a hundred feet high. Chephren, they said, reigned fifty-six years. 128. Thus one hundred and six years are reckoned, during which the Egyptians suffered all kinds of calamities, and for this length of time the temples were closed and never opened. From the hatred they bear them, the Egyptians are not very willing to mention their names ; but call the pyramids after Philition, a shepherd, who at that time kept his cattle in those parts.

129. They said that after him, Mycerinus, son of Cheops, reigned over Egypt ; that the conduct of his father was displeasing to him ; and that he opened the temples, and permitted the people, who were worn down to the last extremity, to return to their employments, and to sacrifices ; and that he made the most just decisions of all their kings. On this account, of all the kings that ever reigned in Egypt, they praise him most, for he both judged well in other respects, and

moreover, when any man complained of his decision, he used to make him some present out of his own treasury and pacify his anger. To this Mycerinus, who was thus beneficent towards his subjects, and who followed these practices, the first beginning of misfortunes was the death of his daughter, who was his only child : whereupon he, being extremely afflicted with the calamity that had befallen him, and wishing to bury her in a more costly manner than usual, caused a hollow wooden image of a cow to be made, and then, having covered it with gold, he put the body of his deceased daughter into it. 130. This cow was not interred in the ground, but even in my time was exposed to view, being in the city of Sais, placed in the royal palace, in a richly furnished chamber ; and they burn near it all kinds of aromatics every day, and a lamp is kept burning by it throughout each night. In another chamber near to this cow are placed the images of Mycerinus's concubines, as the priests of Sais affirmed ; and indeed wooden statues, about twenty in number, all formed naked, are placed there ; however, as to who they are, I am unable to say, except what was told me. 131. Some people however give the following account of this cow and these statues : that Mycerinus fell in love with his own daughter, and had intercourse with her against her will ; but afterwards, they say, that the girl strangled herself through grief, and he entombed her in this cow ; but her mother cut off the hands of the servants who had betrayed her daughter to the father ; and that now their images have suffered the same that they did when alive. But these things, as I conjecture, are trifling fables, both in other respects and in what relates to the hands of the statues, for I myself saw that they had lost their hands from age, which were seen lying at their feet even in my time. 132. The cow is in other parts covered with a purple cloth, but shows the head and the neck, covered over with very thick gold ; and the orb of the sun imitated in gold is placed between the horns. The cow is not standing up, but kneeling ; in size it is equal to a large living cow. It is carried every year out of the chamber. When the Egyptians beat⁵ themselves for the god that is not to be named by me on this occasion, they then carry out the cow to the light ; for they say that she, when

⁵ See Chap. 61.

she was dying, entreated her father Mycerinus to permit her to see the sun once every year. 133. After the loss of his daughter, this second calamity befel this king: an oracle reached him from the city of Buto, importing, "that he had no more than six years to live, and should die in the seventh:" but he, thinking this very hard, sent a reproachful message to the god, complaining, "that his father and uncle, who had shut up the temples, and paid no regard to the gods, and moreover had oppressed men, had lived long; whereas he who was religious must die so soon." But a second message came to him from the oracle, stating, "that for this very reason his life was shortened, because he had not done what he ought to have done; for it was needful that Egypt should be afflicted during one hundred and fifty years; and the two who were kings before him understood this, but he did not." When Mycerinus heard this, seeing that this sentence was now pronounced against him, he ordered a great number of lamps to be made, and having lighted them, whenever night came on, he drank and enjoyed himself, never ceasing night or day, roving about the marshes and groves, wherever he could hear of places most suited for pleasure: and he had recourse to this artifice for the purpose of convicting the oracle of falsehood, that by turning the nights into days, he might have twelve years instead of six.

134. This king also left a pyramid much less than that of his father, being on each side twenty feet short of three plethra; it is quadrangular, and built half-way up of Ethiopian stone. Some of the Grecians erroneously say that this pyramid is the work of the courtesan Rhodopis; but they evidently appear to me ignorant who Rhodopis was; for they would not else have attributed to her the building such a pyramid, on which, so to speak, numberless thousands of talents were expended; besides, Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, and not at this time; for she was very many years later than those kings who left these pyramids. By birth she was a Thracian, servant to Iadmon, son of Hephestopolis, a Samian, and fellow-servant with Æsop, the writer of fables, for he too belonged to Iadmon, as is clearly proved by this circumstance. When the Delphians frequently made proclamation, in obedience to the oracle, for "any one who would require satisfaction for the death of Æsop," no one else appeared, but another Iadmon, the grandson of this Iad-

mon, required it; thus Æsop must have belonged to Iadmon. 135. Rhodopis came to Egypt, under the conduct of Xanthus the Samian; and having come to gain money by her person, she was ransomed for a large sum by Charaxus of Mitylene, son to Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis was made free, and continued in Egypt, and being very lovely, acquired great riches for a person of her condition, though no way sufficient to erect such a pyramid. For as any one who wishes may to this day see the tenth of her wealth, there is no need to attribute any great wealth to her. For Rhodopis was desirous of leaving a monument to herself in Greece, and, having had such a work made as no one ever yet devised and dedicated in a temple, to offer it at Delphi as a memorial of herself: having therefore made from the tenth of her wealth a great number of iron spits for roasting oxen, as far as the tenth allowed, she sent them to Delphi; which are still piled up behind the altar, which the Chians dedicated opposite the temple itself. The courtesans of Naucratis are generally very lovely: for in the first place this one, of whom this account is given, became so famous that all the Greeks became familiar with the name of Rhodopis; and in the next place, after her, another, whose name was Archidice, became celebrated throughout Greece, though less talked about than the former. As for Charaxus, when, having ransomed Rhodopis, he returned to Mitylene, Sappho gibed him very much in an ode. Now I have done speaking of Rhodopis.

136. After Mycerinus, the priests said, that Asychis became king of Egypt, and that he built the eastern portico to the temple of Vulcan, which is far the most beautiful and the largest: for all the porticos have sculptured figures, and an infinite variety of architecture, but this most of all. They related, that during his reign, there being a great want of circulation of money, a law was made by the Egyptians, that a man, by giving the dead body of his father in pledge, might borrow money; and it was also added to this law, that the lender should have power over the whole sepulchre of the borrower; and that on any one who gave this pledge, the following punishment should be inflicted, if he afterwards refused to repay the debt, that neither he himself, when he died, should be buried in his family sepulchre, or in any other, nor have the liberty of burying any other of his own dead. This king

being desirous of surpassing his predecessors who were kings of Egypt, left a pyramid, as a memorial, made of bricks ; on which is an inscription carved on stone, in the following words : “ Do not despise me in comparison with the pyramids of stone, for I excel them as much as Jupiter the other gods. For by plunging a pole into a lake, and collecting the mire that stuck to the pole, men made bricks, and in this manner built me.” Such were the works that this king performed.

137. After him, there reigned a blind man of the city of Anysis, whose name was Anysis. During his reign, the Ethiopians, and Sabacon, king of the Ethiopians, invaded Egypt with a large force ; whereupon this blind king fled to the fens ; and the Ethiopian reigned over Egypt for fifty years, during which time he performed the following actions. When any Egyptian committed any crime, he would not have any of them put to death, but passed sentence upon each according to the magnitude of his offence, enjoining them to heap up mounds against their own city to which each of the offenders belonged : and by this means the cities were made much higher ; for first of all they had been raised by those who dug the canals in the time of king Sesostris,⁶ and secondly, under the Ethiopian they were made very high. Although other cities in Egypt were carried to a great height, in my opinion, the greatest mounds were thrown up about the city of Bubastis, in which is a temple of Bubastis well worthy of mention ; for though other temples may be larger and more costly, yet none is more pleasing to look at than this. Bubastis, in the Grecian language, answers to Diana. 138. Her sacred precinct is thus situated : all except the entrance is an island ; for two canals from the Nile extend to it, not mingling with each other, but each reaches as far as the entrance of the precinct, one flowing round it on one side, the other on the other. Each is a hundred feet broad, and shaded with trees. The portico is ten orgyæ in height, and is adorned with figures six cubits high, that are deserving of notice. This precinct, being in the middle of the city, is visible on every side to a person going round it : for as the city has been mounded up to a considerable height, but the temple has not been moved, it is conspicuous as it was originally built. A wall sculptured with figures runs round it ; and within is a grove of lofty trees, planted round a large temple in which the

⁶ See II. 108.

image is placed. The width and length of the precinct is each way a stade. Along the entrance is a road paved with stone, about three stades in length, leading through the square eastward ; and in width it is about four plethra : on each side of the road grow trees of enormous height : it leads to the temple of Mercury. Such then is the situation of this precinct. 139. They related that the final departure of the Ethiopian occurred in the following manner : that he, having seen a vision of the following kind in his sleep, fled away : it appeared to him that a man, standing by him, advised him to assemble all the priests in Egypt, and to cut them in two down the middle ; but he, having seen this vision, said, that he thought the gods held out this as a pretext to him, in order that he, having been guilty of impiety in reference to sacred things, might draw down some evil on himself from gods or from men ; he would not therefore do so ; but as the time was expired during which it was foretold that he should reign over Egypt, he would depart from the country ; for while he was yet in Ethiopia, the oracles which the Ethiopians have recourse to answered, that he was fated to reign over Egypt fifty years. Since, then, this period had elapsed, and the vision of the dream troubled him, Sabacon of his own accord withdrew from Egypt. 140. When therefore the Ethiopian departed from Egypt, the blind king resumed the government, having returned from the fens, where he had lived fifty years, having formed an island of ashes and earth. For when any of the Egyptians came to him bringing provisions, as they were severally ordered unknown to the Ethiopian, he bade them bring some ashes also as a present. No one before Amyrtæus was able to discover this island ; but for more than seven hundred years, the kings who preceded Amyrtæus were unable to find it out : the name of this island was Elbo ; its size is about ten stades in each direction.

141. After him reigned the priest of Vulcan, whose name was Sethon : he held in no account and despised the military caste of the Egyptians, as not having need of their services ; and accordingly, among other indignities, he took away their lands ; to each of whom, under former kings, twelve chosen acres⁷ had been assigned. After this, Senacherib, king of the

⁷ The arura, here rendered "acre," was an Egyptian measure, containing a square of 100 Egyptian cubits.

Arabians and Assyrians, marched a large army against Egypt ; whereupon the Egyptian warriors refused to assist him ; and the priest, being reduced to a strait, entered the temple, and bewailed before the image the calamities he was in danger of suffering. While he was lamenting, sleep fell upon him, and it appeared to him in a vision, that the god stood by and encouraged him, assuring him that he should suffer nothing disagreeable in meeting the Arabian army, for he would himself send assistants to him. Confiding in this vision, he took with him such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him, and encamped in Pelusium, for here the entrance *into Egypt* is ; but none of the military caste followed him, but tradesmen, mechanics, and sutlers. When they arrived there, a number of field mice, pouring in upon their enemies, devoured their quivers and their bows, and moreover, the handles of their shields ; so that on the next day, when they fled bereft of their arms, many of them fell. And to this day, a stone statue of this king stands in the temple of Vulcan, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to the following effect : "Whoever looks on me, let him revere the gods."

142. Thus much of the account the Egyptians and the priests related, showing that from the first king to this priest of Vulcan who last reigned, were three hundred forty and one generations of men ; and during these generations, there were the same number of chief priests and kings. Now, three hundred generations are equal to ten thousand years, for three generations of men are one hundred years : and the forty-one remaining generations that were over the three hundred, make one thousand three hundred and forty years. Thus, they said, in eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, no god had assumed the form of a man ; neither, they said, had any such thing happened before, or afterwards, in the time of the remaining kings of Egypt. During this time, they related, that the sun had four times risen out of his usual quarter, and that he had twice risen where he now sets, and twice set where he now rises ; yet, that no change in the things in Egypt was occasioned by this, either with regard to the productions of the earth or the river, or with regard to diseases, or with respect to deaths. 143. In former time, the priests of Jupiter did to Hecataeus the historian, when he was tracing his own genealogy, and connecting his family

with a god in the sixteenth degree, the same as they did to me, though I did not trace my genealogy. Conducting me into the interior of an edifice that was spacious, and showing me wooden colossuses to the number I have mentioned, they reckoned them up ; for every high priest places an image of himself there during his lifetime ; the priests, therefore, reckoning them and showing them to me, pointed out that each was the son of his own father ; going through them all, from the image of him that died last, until they had pointed them all out. But when Hecataeus traced his own genealogy, and connected himself with a god in the sixteenth degree, they controverted his genealogy by computation, not admitting that a man could be born from a god ; and they thus controverted his genealogy, saying that each of the colossuses was a Piromis, sprung from a Piromis ; until they pointed out the three hundred and forty-five colossuses, each a Piromis sprung from a Piromis, and they did not connect them with any god or hero. Piromis means, in the Grecian language, "a noble and good man." 144. They pointed out to me therefore, that all those of whom there were images, were of that character, but were very far from being gods ; that, indeed, before the time of these men, gods had been the rulers of Egypt, and had dwelt amongst men ; and that one of them always had the supreme power, and that Orus, the son of Osiris, whom the Greeks call Apollo, was the last who reigned over it ; he, having deposed Typhon, was the last who reigned over Egypt. Now, Osiris in the Grecian language means Bacchus.

145. Among the Greeks, the most recent of the gods are thought to be Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan ; but by the Egyptians Pan is esteemed the most ancient, and one of the eight gods called original ; but Hercules is among the second, among those called the twelve ; and Bacchus is of the third, who were sprung from the twelve gods. I have already declared⁸ how many years the Egyptians say there were from Hercules to the reign of Amasis ; but from Pan a still greater number of years are said to have intervened, and from Bacchus fewest of all ; and from him there are computed to have been fifteen thousand years to the reign of Amasis. The Egyptians say they know these things with accuracy, because they always compute and register the years. Now from Bac-

⁸ See chap. 43.

chus, who is said to have been born of Semele the daughter of Cadmus, to my time, is about sixteen hundred years, and from Hercules the son of Alcmena, about nine hundred years; but from Pan, born of Penelope, (for Pan is said by the Greeks to have sprung from her and Mercury,) is a less number of years than from the siege of Troy, about eight hundred, to my time. 146. Of these two accounts, each person may adopt that which he thinks most credible; I have therefore declared my own opinion respecting them. For if these deities had been well known, and had grown old in Greece, as Hercules, who was sprung from Amphitryon, and especially Bacchus the son of Semele, and Pan who was borne by Penelope, some one might say, that these later ones, though mere men, bore the names of the gods who were long before them. Now, the Greeks say of Bacchus, that Jupiter sewed him into his thigh as soon as he was born, and carried him to Nyssa, which is above Egypt in Ethiopia; and concerning Pan, they are unable to say whither he was taken at his birth. It is evident to me, therefore, that the Grecians learnt their names later than those of the other gods; and from the time when they learnt them they trace their origin, therefore they ascribe their generation to that time, and not higher. These things then the Egyptians themselves relate.

147. What things both other men and the Egyptians agree in saying occurred in this country, I shall now proceed to relate, and shall add to them some things of my own observation. The Egyptians having become free, after the reign of the priest of Vulcan, for they were at no time able to live without a king, established twelve kings, having divided all Egypt into twelve parts. These having contracted intermarriages, reigned, adopting the following regulations: that they would not attempt the subversion of one another, nor one seek to acquire more than another, and that they should maintain the strictest friendship. They made these regulations and strictly upheld them, for the following reason: it had been foretold them by an oracle when they first assumed the government, "that whoever among them should offer a libation in the temple of Vulcan from a brazen bowl, should be king of all Egypt;" for they used to assemble in all the temples. 148. Now, they determined to leave in common a memorial of themselves; and having so determined, they built a labyrinth, a little above the lake of Mœris, situated

near that called the city of Crocodiles ; this I have myself seen, *and found it* greater than can be described. For if any one should reckon up the buildings and public works of the Grecians, they would be found to have cost less labour and expense than this labyrinth ; though the temple in Ephesus is deserving of mention, and also that in Samos. The pyramids likewise were beyond description, and each of them comparable to many of the great Grecian structures. Yet the labyrinth surpasses even the pyramids. For it has twelve courts enclosed with walls, with doors opposite each other, six facing the north, and six the south, contiguous to one another ; and the same exterior wall encloses them. It contains two kinds of rooms, some under ground and some above ground over them, to the number of three thousand, fifteen hundred of each. The rooms above ground I myself went through and saw, and relate from personal inspection. But the underground rooms I only know from report ; for the Egyptians who have charge of the building would, on no account, show me them, saying, that there were the sepulchres of the kings who originally built this labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. I can therefore only relate what I have learnt by hearsay concerning the lower rooms ; but the upper ones, which surpass all human works, I myself saw ; for the passages through the corridors, and the windings through the courts, from their great variety, presented a thousand occasions of wonder, as I passed from a court to the rooms, and from the rooms to halls, and to other corridors from the halls, and to other courts from the rooms. The roofs of all these are of stone, as also are the walls ; but the walls are full of sculptured figures. Each court is surrounded with a colonnade of white stone, closely fitted. And adjoining the extremity of the labyrinth is a pyramid, forty orgyæ in height, on which large figures are carved, and a way to it has been made under ground.

149. Although this labyrinth is such *as I have described*, yet the lake named from Mœris, near which this labyrinth is built, occasions greater wonder : its circumference measures three thousand six hundred stades, or sixty schœnes, equal to the sea-coast of Egypt. The lake stretches lengthways, north and south, being in depth in the deepest part fifty orgyæ. That it is made by hand and dry, this circumstance proves, for about the middle of the lake stand two pyramids,

each rising fifty orgyæ above the surface of the water, and the part built under water extends to an equal depth : on each of these is placed a stone statue, seated on a throne. Thus these pyramids are one hundred orgyæ in height ; and a hundred orgyæ are equal to a stade of six plethra ; the orgyæ measuring six feet, or four cubits ; the foot being four palms, and the cubit six palms. The water in this lake does not spring from the soil, for these parts are excessively dry, but it is conveyed through a channel from the Nile, and for six months it flows into the lake, and six months out again into the Nile. And during the six months that it flows out it yields a talent of silver every day to the king's treasury from the fish ; but when the water is flowing into it, twenty minæ. 150. The people of the country told me that this lake discharges itself under ground into the Syrtis of Libya, running westward towards the interior by the mountain above Memphis. But when I did not see any where a heap of soil from this excavation, for this was an object of curiosity to me, I inquired of the people who lived nearest the lake, where the soil that had been dug out was to be found ; they told me where it had been carried, and easily persuaded me, because I had heard that a similar thing had been done at Nineveh, in Assyria. For certain thieves formed a design to carry away the treasures of Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, which were very large, and preserved in subterraneous treasuries ; the thieves therefore, beginning from their own dwellings, dug under ground by estimated measurement to the royal palace, and the soil that was taken out of the excavations, when night came on, they threw into the river Tigris, that flows by Nineveh ; *and so they proceeded* until they had effected their purpose. The same method I heard was adopted in digging the lake in Egypt, except that it was not done by night, but during the day ; for the Egyptians who dug out the soil carried it to the Nile, and the river receiving it, soon dispersed it. Now, this lake is said to have been excavated in this way.

151. While the twelve kings continued to observe justice, in course of time, as they were sacrificing in the temple of Vulcan, and were about to offer a libation on the last day of the festival, the high priest, mistaking the number, brought out eleven of the twelve golden bowls with which he used to make the libation. Whereupon he who stood last of them, Psam-

mitichus, since he had not a bowl, having taken off his helmet, which was of brass, held it out and made the libation. All the other kings were in the habit of wearing helmets, and at that time had them on. Psammitichus therefore, without any sinister intention, held out his helmet: but they having taken into consideration what was done by Psammitichus, and the oracle that had foretold to them, "that whoever among them should offer a libation from a brazen bowl, should be sole king of Egypt;" calling to mind the oracle, they did not think it right to put him to death, since upon examination they found that he had done it by no premeditated design. But they determined to banish him to the marshes, having divested him of the greatest part of his power; and they forbade him to leave the marshes, or have any intercourse with the rest of Egypt. 152. This Psammitichus, who had before fled from Sabacon the Ethiopian, who had killed his father Neco—having at that time fled into Syria, the Egyptians, who belong to the Saitic district, brought back when the Ethiopian withdrew in consequence of the vision in a dream.⁹ And afterwards, having been made king, he was a second time constrained¹ by the eleven kings to go into exile among the marshes on account of the helmet. Knowing, then, that he had been exceedingly injured by them, he entertained the design of avenging himself on his persecutors; and when he sent to the city of Buto to consult the oracle of Latona, where is the truest oracle that the Egyptians have, an answer came, "that vengeance would come from the sea, when men of brass should appear." He, however, was very incredulous² that men of brass would come to assist him. But when no long time had elapsed, stress of weather compelled some Ionians and Carians, who had sailed out for the purpose of piracy, to bear away to Egypt; and when they had disembarked and were clad in brazen armour, an Egyptian, who had never before seen men clad in brass, went to the marshes to Psammitichus, and told him that men of brass, having arrived from the sea, were ravaging the plains. He perceiving that the oracle was accomplished, treated these Ionians and Carians in a friendly manner, and having promised them great things, persuaded them to join with him: and when he had succeeded in persuading them, he thus, with the

⁹ See II. 139.

¹ Literally, "it befel him."

² Literally "great incredulity was poured secretly into him."

help of such Egyptians as were well affected to him, and with these allies, overcame the other kings.

153. Psammitichus, having made himself master of all Egypt, constructed the portico to Vulcan's temple at Memphis, that faces the south wind ; and he built a court for Apis, in which he is fed whenever he appears, opposite the portico, surrounded by a colonnade, and full of sculptured figures ; and instead of pillars, statues twelve cubits high are placed under the piazza. Apis, in the language of the Greeks, means Epaphus. 154. To the Ionians, and those who with them had assisted him, Psammitichus gave lands opposite each other, with the Nile flowing between ; to these lands was given the name of Camps. And besides these lands he gave them all that he had promised ; and he moreover put Egyptian children under their care, to be instructed in the Greek language ; and from those who learnt the language the present interpreters in Egypt are descended. The Ionians and the Carians continued for a long time to inhabit these lands, and they are situated near the sea, a little below the city of Bubastis, on that which is called the Pelusiatic mouth of the Nile ; these, in after-time, king Amasis removed and settled at Memphis, making them his body-guard against the Egyptians. From the time of the settlement of these people in Egypt, we Greeks have had such constant communication with them, that we are accurately informed of all that has happened in Egypt, beginning from the reign of Psammitichus to the present time. These were the first people of a different language who settled in Egypt. The docks for their ships, and the ruins of their buildings, were to be seen in my time in the places from which they were removed. Thus then Psammitichus became master of Egypt.

155. Of the oracle that is in Egypt, I have already made frequent mention ;³ and I shall now give an account of it, as well deserving notice. This oracle in Egypt is a temple sacred to Latona, situated in a large city, near that which is called the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile, as one sails upwards from the sea. The name of this city, where the oracle is, is Buto, as I have already mentioned. There is also in this Buto a precinct sacred to Apollo and Diana : and the temple of Latona, in which the oracle is, is spacious, and has a portico ten

³ See II. 83, 133, 152.

orgyæ in height. But of all the things I saw there, I will describe that which occasioned most astonishment. There is in this enclosure a temple of Latona made from one stone, both in height and length; and each wall is equal to them;⁴ each of these measures forty cubits: for the roof, another stone is laid over it, having a cornice four cubits deep.⁵ 156. This temple, then, is the most wonderful thing that I saw about this precinct: next to it, is the island called Chemmis, situated in a deep and broad lake near the precinct in Buto. This is said by the Egyptians to be a floating island, but I myself saw it neither floating nor moving, and I was astonished when I heard that there really was a floating island. In this, then, is a spacious temple of Apollo, and in it three altars are placed; and there grow in it great numbers of palms, and many other trees, both such as produce fruit, and such as do not. The Egyptians, when they affirm that it floats, add the following story: *they say* that in this island, which before did not float, Latona, who was one of the eight primary deities, dwelling in Buto, where this oracle of hers now is, received Apollo as a deposit from the hands of Isis, and saved him, by concealing him in this, which is now called the floating island, when Typhon arrived, searching every where, and hoping to find the son of Osiris. For they say that Apollo and Diana are the offspring of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver: in the language of Egypt, Apollo is called Orus; Ceres, Isis; and Diana, Bubastis. Now, from this account, and no other, Æschylus, the son of Euphorion, alone among the earlier poets, derived the tradition that I will mention; for he made Diana to be the daughter of Ceres. On this account *they say* that the island was made to float. Such is the account they give.

157. Psammitichus reigned in Egypt fifty-four years; during twenty-nine of which he sat down before and besieged Azotus, a large city of Syria, until he took it. This Azotus, of all the cities we know of, held out against a siege the longest period. 158. Neco was son of Psammitichus, and became king of Egypt: he first set about the canal that leads

⁴ That is to say, its external surface forms a perfect cube.

⁵ This is usually translated "having a projecting roof to the extent of four cubits;" but see Letronne's remark in Baehr. *Cary's Lexicon*, *παρωροφίς*.

to the Red Sea, which Darius the Persian afterwards completed. Its length is a voyage of four days, and in width it was dug so that two triremes might sail rowed abreast. The water is drawn into it from the Nile, and it enters it a little above the city Bubastis, *passes* near the Arabian city Patumos, and reaches to the Red Sea. The parts of the Egyptian plain that lie towards Arabia were dug first; above this plain is situated the mountain that stretches towards Memphis, in which are the quarries. Along the base of this mountain therefore the canal is carried lengthways from the west to the east, and then it stretches to the defiles, passing from the mountain towards the meridian and the south inward, as far as the Arabian Gulf. But in the part where is the shortest and most direct passage from the northern sea to the southern, which is the same as that called the Red Sea, *namely*, from Mount Casius, that separates Egypt from Syria, from this point the distance is a thousand stades to the Arabian Gulf: this, then, is the most direct way; but the canal is very much longer, in that it is more winding, in the digging of which one hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished in the reign of Neco. Now, Neco stopped digging it in the middle of the work, the following oracle having caused an impediment, "that he was working for a barbarian;" for the Egyptians call all men barbarians who do not speak the same language as themselves. 159. But Neco, having put a stop to his excavation, turned his attention to military affairs; and triremes were constructed, some on the northern sea, and others in the Arabian Gulf, or the Red Sea, of which the docks are still to be seen. These he used as he had occasion; and Neco, having come to an engagement with the Syrians on land at Magdolus, conquered them, and after the battle took Cadytis, which is a large city in Syria. The garments he wore during these actions he consecrated to Apollo, having sent them to Branchidæ of the Milesians. Afterwards, having reigned sixteen years in all, he died and left the kingdom to his son, Psammis.

160. While this Psammis was reigning over Egypt, ambassadors arrived from the Eleans, boasting that they had established the Olympian games under the most just and excellent regulations in the world, and believing that not even the Egyptians, the wisest of mankind, could invent any thing

surpassing them. When the Eleans, having arrived in Egypt, mentioned for what purpose they had come, this king thereupon summoned those who were reputed to be the wisest among the Egyptians; and the Egyptians, having met together, heard the Eleans relate what was settled for them to do with regard to the games; and they, having mentioned every thing, said, they had come to inquire "whether the Egyptians could invent any thing more equitable." And they, having consulted together, asked the Eleans whether their own citizens were permitted to enter the lists; they said that they and all other Grecians, who wished, were allowed to contend; but the Egyptians replied, "that in making such enactments they had totally deviated from the rules of justice, for that they could not contrive so as not to favour a citizen of their own to the prejudice of a stranger. But if they really wished to make just enactments, and had come into Egypt for this purpose, they advised them to establish games for foreign candidates, and to allow no Elean to enter the lists." Such was the suggestion that the Egyptians made to the Eleans.

161. When Psammis had reigned only six years over Egypt, and made an expedition into Ethiopia, and shortly afterwards died, Apries his son succeeded to the kingdom. He, next to his grandfather Psammitichus, enjoyed greater prosperity than any of the former kings, during a reign of five and twenty years, in which period he marched an army against Sidon, and engaged the Tyrian by sea. But when it was destined for him to meet with adversity, it happened on an occasion, which I shall narrate more fully in my Libyan history,⁶ and briefly in this place. For Apries, having sent an army against the Cyrenæans, met with a signal defeat; but the Egyptians, complaining of this, revolted from him, suspecting that Apries had designedly sent them to certain ruin, in order that they might be destroyed, and he might govern the rest of the Egyptians with greater security; both those that returned and the friends of those who perished, being very indignant at this, openly revolted against him. 162. Apries, having heard of this, sent Amasis to appease them by persuasion. But when he, having come to them, was endeavouring to restrain them, as he was urging them to desist from their enterprise, one of the Egyptians standing behind him placed a

⁶ Sec B. IV. chap. 159.

helmet on his head, and as he put it on said, "that he put it on him to make him king." And this action was not at all disagreeable to Amasis, as he presently showed. For when the revolvers had appointed him king of the Egyptians, he prepared to lead an army against Apries; but Apries, being informed of this, sent to Amasis a considerable person among the Egyptians that adhered to him, whose name was Patarbemis, with orders to bring Amasis alive into his presence. When Patarbemis arrived and summoned Amasis, Amasis, raising his leg, (for he happened to be on horseback,) broke wind and bade him carry that to Apries. Nevertheless Patarbemis begged of him, since the king had sent for him, to go to him; but he answered, "that he had been some time preparing to do so, and that Apries should have no cause of complaint, for that he would not only appear himself, but would bring others with him." Patarbemis, perceiving his design from what was said, and seeing preparations being made, returned in haste, as he wished to inform the king as soon as possible of what was going on: when, however, he came to Apries without bringing Amasis, Apries, taking no time for deliberation, in a transport of passion commanded his ears and nose to be cut off. The rest of the Egyptians, who still adhered to him, seeing one of the most distinguished among them treated in so unworthy a manner, did not delay a moment, but went immediately over to the others and gave themselves to Amasis. 163. When Apries heard of this, he armed his auxiliaries and marched against the Egyptians; but he had with him Carian and Ionian auxiliaries to the number of thirty thousand; and he had a palace in the city of Sais, that was spacious and magnificent. Now Apries' party advanced against the Egyptians, and the party of Amasis against the foreigners. They met near the city Momemphis, and prepared to engage with each other.

164. There are seven classes of Egyptians, and of these some are called priests, others warriors, others herdsmen, others swineherds, others tradesmen, others interpreters, and lastly, pilots; such are the classes of Egyptians; they take their names from the employments they exercise. Their warriors are called Calasiries or Hermotybies, and they are of the following districts, for all Egypt is divided into districts. 165. The following are the districts of the Hermotybies,

Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, Papremis, the island called Prosopitis, and the half of Natho. From these districts are the Hermotybies, being in number, when they are most numerous, a hundred and sixty thousand. None of these learn any mechanical art, but apply themselves wholly to military affairs. 166. These next are the districts of the Calasiries; Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athribis, Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anysis, Mycephoris; this district is situated in an island opposite the city Bubastis. These are the districts of the Calasiries, being in number, when they are most numerous, two hundred and fifty thousand men: neither are these allowed to practise any art, but they devote themselves to military pursuits alone, the son succeeding to his father. 167. Whether the Greeks learnt this custom from the Egyptians I am unable to determine with certainty, seeing that the Thracians, Scythians, Persians, Lydians, and almost all barbarous nations, hold in less honour than their other citizens, those who learn any art and their descendants, but deem such to be noble as abstain from handicrafts, and particularly those who devote themselves to war. All the Greeks, moreover, have adopted the same notion, and especially the Lacedæmonians; but the Corinthians hold handicraftsmen in least esteem. 168. To these alone of all the Egyptians, besides the priests, the following special privileges are attached; to each twelve chosen acres⁷ free from tribute: the acre contains a square of one hundred Egyptian cubits, and the Egyptian cubit is equal to that of Samos: these privileges were attached to them all, but others enjoyed them by turns, and the same persons never *more than once*. A thousand of the Calasiries, and as many of the Hermotybies, each served for a year as the king's body-guard: to these accordingly was given the following allowance daily, in addition to the acres, to each five minæ in weight of baked bread, two minæ of beef, and four arysters of wine. This was the constant allowance of the body-guard.

169. When therefore Apries, leading his auxiliaries, and Amasis, all the Egyptians, met together at Momemphis, they came to an engagement, and the foreigners fought well, but being far inferior in numbers, were, on that account, defeated.

⁷ See chap. 141, and note there.

Apries is said to have been of opinion that not even a god could deprive him of his kingdom, so securely did he think himself established: now, however, when he came to an engagement he was beaten, and being taken prisoner, he was carried back to Sais, to that which was formerly his own palace, but which now belonged to Amasis: here he was maintained for some time in the royal palace, and Amasis treated him well. But at length the Egyptians complaining that he did not act rightly in preserving a man who was the greatest enemy both to them and to him, he thereupon delivered Apries to the Egyptians; but they strangled him, and afterwards buried him in his ancestral sepulchre; this is in the sacred precinct of Minerva, very near the temple, on the left hand as you enter. The Saitæ used to bring all the kings sprung from this district within the sacred precinct; however, the tomb of Amasis is further from the temple than that of Apries and his progenitors, but even⁸ this is in the court of the sacred precinct, consisting of a large stone chamber, adorned with columns, made in imitation of palm-trees, and with other ornaments; inside this chamber are placed folding doors, and within the doors is the sepulchre. 170. At Sais also, in the sacred precinct of Minerva, behind the chapel and joining the whole of the wall, is the tomb of one whose name I consider it impious to divulge on such an occasion: And in the enclosure stand large stone obelisks, and there is a lake near, ornamented with a stone margin, formed in a circle, and in size, as appeared to me, much the same as that in Delos, which is called the Circular. 171. In this lake they perform by night the representation of that person's adventures, which they call mysteries. On these matters, however, though accurately acquainted with the particulars of them, I must observe a discreet silence. And respecting the sacred rites of Ceres, which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, although I am acquainted with them, I must observe silence except so far as it is lawful for me to speak of them. The daughters of Danaus were they who introduced these ceremonies from Egypt, and taught them to the Pelasgian women: but afterwards, when almost the whole Peloponnese was depopulated by the Dorians, these rites were lost; but the Arcadians, who

⁸ All former translators of Herodotus have misconstrued this passage, by neglecting to give the force of the word *μεντοί*.

were the only Peloponnesians left, and not expelled, alone preserved them.

172. Apries being thus dethroned, Amasis, who was of the Saitic district, reigned in his stead; the name of the city from which he came was Siuph. At first the Egyptians despised, and held him in no great estimation, as having been formerly a private person, and of no illustrious family; but afterwards he conciliated them by his address, without any arrogance. He had an infinite number of other treasures, and besides a golden foot-pan, in which Amasis himself, and all his guests, were accustomed to wash their feet. Having then broken this in pieces, he had made from it the statue of a god, and placed it in the most suitable part of the city; but the Egyptians, flocking to the image, paid it the greatest reverence. But Amasis, informed of their behaviour, called the Egyptians together, and explained the matter to them, saying, "that the statue was made out of the foot-pan in which the Egyptians formerly vomited, made water, and washed their feet, and which they then so greatly revered; now then, he proceeded to say, the same had happened to him as to the foot-pan; for though he was before but a private person, yet he was now their king;" he therefore required them to honour and respect him: by this means he won over the Egyptians, so that they thought fit to obey him. 173. He adopted the following method of managing his affairs: early in the morning, until the time of full-market, he assiduously despatched the business brought before him; after that he drank and jested with his companions, and he talked loosely and sportively. But his friends, offended at this, admonished him, saying, "You do not, O king, control yourself properly, in making yourself too common. For it becomes you, who sit on a venerable throne, to pass the day in transacting public business; thus the Egyptians would know that they are governed by a great man, and you would be better spoken of. But now you act in a manner not at all becoming a king." But he answered them as follows: "They who have bows, when they want to use them, bend them; but when they have done using them, they unbend them; for if it were kept always bent, it would break, so that he could not use it when he had need. Such is the condition of man; if he should incessantly attend to serious business, and not give

himself up sometimes to sport, he would unawares become mad or stupified. I, being well aware of this, give up a portion of my time to each." Thus he answered his friends. 174. Amasis is said to have been, even when a private person, fond of drinking and jesting, and by no means inclined to serious business; and when the means failed him for drinking and indulging himself, he used to go about pilfering. Such persons as accused him of having their property, on his denying it, used to take him to the oracle of the place, and he was oftentimes convicted by the oracles, and oftentimes acquitted. When, therefore, he came to the throne, he acted as follows: whatever gods had absolved him from the charge of theft, of their temples he neither took any heed, nor contributed any thing towards their repair; neither did he frequent them, and offer sacrifices, considering them of no consequence at all, and as having only lying responses to give. But as many as had convicted him of the charge of theft, to them he paid the highest respect, considering them as truly gods, and delivering authentic responses.

175. Moreover, he built an admirable portico to the temple of Minerva at Sais, far surpassing all others both in height and size, as well as in the dimensions and quality of the stones; he likewise dedicated large statues, and huge andro-sphinxes, and brought other stones of a prodigious size for repairs: of these he brought some from the quarries near Memphis; but those of the greatest magnitude, from the city of Elephantine, distant from Sais a passage of twenty days. But of these, that which I not the least, rather the most admire, is this; he brought a building of one stone from the city of Elephantine, and two thousand men, who were appointed to convey it, were occupied three whole years in its transport, and these men were all pilots. The length of this chamber, outside, is twenty-one cubits, the breadth fourteen, and the height eight. This is the measure of the outside of the one-stoned chamber. But inside, the length is eighteen cubits and twenty digits, and the width twelve cubits, and the height five cubits. This chamber is placed near the entrance of the sacred precinct; for they say that he did not draw it within the precinct for the following reason: the architect, as the chamber was being drawn along, heaved a deep sigh, being wearied with the work, over which so long a time had been

spent ; whereupon Amasis, making a religious scruple of this, would not suffer it to be drawn any farther. Some persons however say, that one of the men employed at the levers was crushed to death by it, and that on that account it was not drawn into the precinct. 176. Amasis dedicated in all the most famous temples works admirable for their magnitude ; and amongst them at Memphis, the reclining colossus before the temple of Vulcan, of which the length is seventy-five feet ; and on the same base stand two statues of Ethiopian stone, each twenty feet in height, one on each side of the temple. There is also at Sais another similar statue, lying in the same manner as that at Memphis. It was Amasis also who built the temple to Isis at Memphis, which is spacious and well worthy of notice.

177. Under the reign of Amasis Egypt is said to have enjoyed the greatest prosperity, both in respect to the benefits derived from the river to the land, and from the land to the people ; and it is said to have contained at that time twenty thousand inhabited cities. Amasis it was who established the law among the Egyptians, that every Egyptian should annually declare to the governor of his district, by what means he maintained himself ; and if he failed to do this, or did not show that he lived by honest means, he should be punished with death. Solon the Athenian, having brought this law from Egypt, established it at Athens ; and that people still continue to observe it, as being an unobjectionable regulation. 178. Amasis, being partial to the Greeks, both bestowed other favours on various of the Greeks, and moreover gave the city of Naucratis for such as arrived in Egypt to dwell in ; and to such as did not wish to settle there, but only to trade by sea, he granted places where they might erect altars and temples to the gods. Now, the most spacious of these sacred buildings, which is also the most renowned and frequented, called the Hellenium, was erected at the common charge of the following cities : of the Ionians, Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ ; of the Dorians, Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis ; and of the Æolians, Mitylene alone. So that this temple belongs to them, and these cities appoint officers to preside over the mart : and whatever other cities claim a share in it, claim what does not belong to them. Besides this, the people of Ægina built a temple to Jupiter

for themselves; and the Samians another to Juno, and the Milesians one to Apollo. 179. Naucratis was anciently the only place of resort for merchants, and there was no other in Egypt: and if a man arrived at any other mouth of the Nile, he was obliged to swear "that he had come there against his will;" and having taken such an oath, he must sail in the same ship to the Canopic mouth; but if he should be prevented by contrary winds from doing so, he was forced to unload his goods, and carry them in barges round the Delta until he reached Naucratis. So great were the privileges of Naucratis. 180. When the Amphyctions contracted to build the temple that now stands at Delphi for three hundred talents, (for the temple that was formerly there had been burnt by accident, and it fell upon the Delphians to supply a fourth part of the sum,) the Delphians went about from city to city and solicited contributions; and doing this they brought home no small amount from Egypt. For Amasis gave them a thousand talents of alum, and the Grecians who were settled in Egypt twenty minæ.

181. Amasis also contracted a friendship and an alliance with the Cyrenæans; and resolved to take a wife from that country, either out of a desire of having a Grecian woman, or from some peculiar affection to the Cyrenæans. He therefore married, as some say, the daughter of Battus; others, of Arcesilaus; though others, of Critobulus, a person of distinction among the citizens; her name was Ladice. Whenever Amasis lay with her he was unable to have connexion with her, which was not the case with respect to other women: upon the continuance of this for a long time, Amasis said to this woman, who was called Ladice; "O woman, you have used charms against me, and no contrivance can prevent your perishing by the most cruel death of all women." But Ladice, finding that Amasis was not at all appeased by her denial of the fact, made a mental vow to Venus, that if Amasis should have intercourse with her that night, (for this was the only remedy left,) she would send a statue of the goddess to Cyrene. Immediately after the vow, Amasis had intercourse with her; and from that time forward, whenever he came to her, he was able to have connexion; and after this he was exceedingly fond of her. But Ladice performed her vow to the goddess, for having caused a statue to be made, she sent it to

Cyrene, and it was still safe in my time, facing out of the city of Cyrene. When Cambyses had conquered Egypt, and learnt who this Ladice was, he sent her back unharmed to Cyrene. 182. Amasis also dedicated offerings in Greece. In the first place, a gilded statue of Minerva at Cyrene, and his own portrait painted; secondly, to Minerva in Lindus two stone statues and a linen corselet well worthy of notice; thirdly, to Juno at Samos two images of himself carved in wood, which stood in the large temple even in my time, behind the doors. Now he made this offering at Samos, on account of the friendship that subsisted between himself and Polycrates the son of *Æaces*; but those at Lindus, not on account of any friendship, but because it is reported that the daughters of Danaus founded the temple of Minerva at Lindus, when they touched there in their flight from the sons of Egyptus: and these were the offerings that Amasis made. He was the first who conquered Cyprus, and subjected it to the payment of tribute.